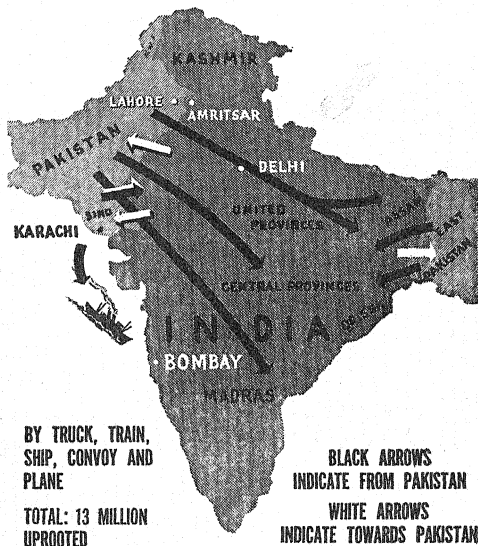


# FREE INDIA: THE FIRST FIVE YEARS

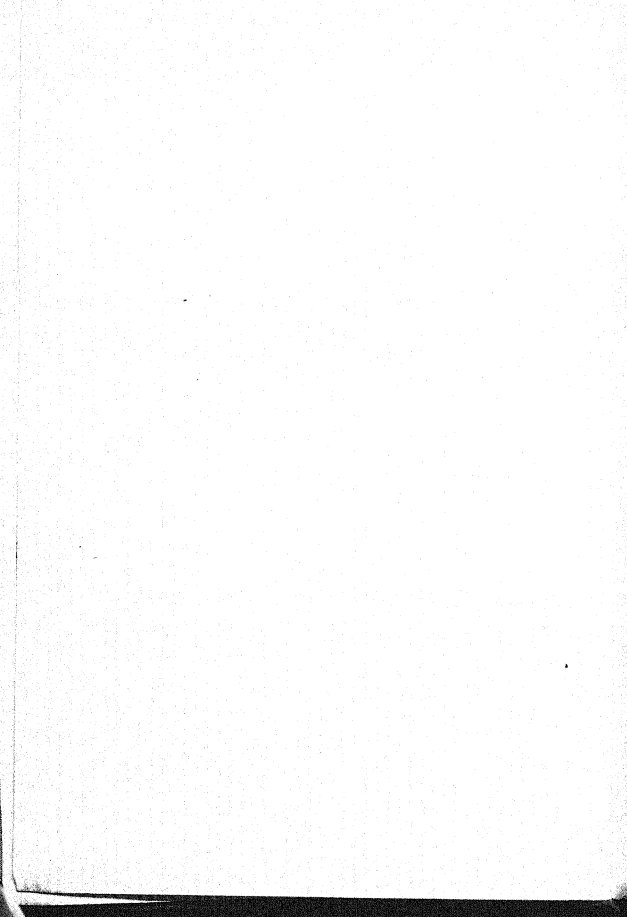
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## MOVEMENTS OF REFUGEES







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## 1942-1952: India's Bold Decade

DONALD F. EBRIGHT

### Introduction

SWEEP YOUR EYE ACROSS REVOLUTIONARY ASIA—EGYPT TO Korea and Japan south-westward to Indonesia—pausing at each country to ask: "Who is in power?" "How did they get there?" "What did they do in 1952?" and you will come to the inevitable conclusion that India today is the bright and stable spot in all Asia. Yes, India, with her ancient history and ample culture, a sub-continent projecting itself into the warm waters of the Arabian Sea, cut off from Central Asian currents by the mighty sweep of the high Himalayas and nestling 360 million people of divergent origins to her fertile breast, holds Asia's future in her hands.<sup>1</sup>

Achieving Independence from British rule on August 15, 1947, against a backdrop of World War II, India established a "Sovereign Democratic Republic." She has a President with much the same power as the President of France. Like Britain, she has a Prime Minister who chooses his own cabinet. Her commendable written constitution adopted in 1950 has drawn heavily also on the Constitution of the United States. India remains within the British Commonwealth of Nations, but without allegiance to the Crown. Independence brought partition, the subsequent uprooting of millions of people and a brood of evil problems, which India has faced in a spirit of courageous statesmanship. The general election of 1951 brought 107 million people to the polls for a mass demonstration of democratic activity.



There is much in common between the United States and India. Both are dedicated to a democratic form of government and a foreign policy calculated to achieve lasting world peace. We can learn much from India and we have much to share. Now is the time to deepen the channel and increase the two-way flow of resources, experience and personnel.

India's millions are caught in the great transformation sweeping over Asia which can be reduced to the simple fact that one half of the human race is not willing to exist as their fathers did. The tales the Indian troops of World War II brought back to India from many a battlefield; students in far-flung foreign universities; Western films in village and city cinema houses; the literature on the railroad platform and urban bookstall; Rotary International and the Voice of America; *Life* magazine and the *Sears, Roebuck* catalogue; foreign missions and business establishments; and a thousand shiny gadgets in the bazaar nourish the dream of a better life. The Indian students know that the \$54 a year per capita income (as compared with \$1,584 in the United States) is not enough to provide the cultural, educational and health goals that India needs. With information, experience, technical assistance and finance, young India's dreams can become a reality. India's goals are reasonable: food, shelter, medical care, education, employment, peace, cherished human freedoms and the preservation of her traditional culture within a world framework.

This informal study is concerned with the manner in which India is proceeding to achieve these goals despite partition, riots, refugees, grievous obstacles and unprecedented calamities between 1942 and 1952. It is not written for the expert. Many highly technical volumes exist. More-

## INTRODUCTION

over, this book does not deal with the Kiplingesque India of the tourist's delight: scampering monkeys, holy cows or "pale hands to love beside the Shalimar." <sup>2</sup>

The events between 1942-1952, India's bold decade, are reported as seen through the eyes of an American who was the Director of Refugee and Famine Relief (1949-1952) of the National Christian Council of India, an interdenominational and international body. (The writer has lived in India from 1936-1952.) In this capacity he represented voluntary relief agencies in India, i.e., Church World Service, Christian Rural Overseas Program (CROP) and Lutheran World Relief; was associated with the Co-operative for American Remittances to Europe (CARE) mission; administered the Tolstoy foundation (New York) funds for relief among the Turki and Kazakh refugees in Kashmir; and was the first secretary of the Indo-American Agreement Relief Council of India.

In order to understand the need for and the contribution of voluntary relief agency work in free India, it will be necessary to review the problems which accompanied independence: the rise of Pakistan and the partition of India; the uprooting of millions and the flood of refugees; the courageous leadership of India's patriots; the vast requirements for the relief and rehabilitation of seven and one-half million refugees; India's "food muddle"; the "Five Year Plan" leading to new Indo-American cooperation through community development projects; the threat of communism; and India's future, which is bright and promising. India's response to trouble, problems and internal planning strike one as bold.

I am indebted to many individuals: Indian colleagues across the seas, former teachers and classmates with whom I have discussed various chapters. Four people have read

the manuscript and made helpful suggestions. These are: my wife, Elinor Baker Ebright, who was born in India and loves the land and its people; my uncle, Dr. Homer K. Ebright, who for forty years taught Greek and Biblical Literature at Baker University, Baldwin, Kansas; Dr. Malcolm S. Pitt, Hartford Seminary Foundation, Hartford, Connecticut; and Dr. Murray T. Titus, now teaching at Westminster Seminary, Westminster, Maryland, after a distinguished missionary career in India. Special acknowledgement is due Mrs. Charles Speice, Kiowa, Kansas, for her work of preparing the manuscript from rough notes while I lectured in thirty-two states. Despite the generous help from these gracious friends, errors and mistakes will be noted for which the writer alone accepts the responsibility.

## CHAPTER I

### Carving the Indian Union and Pakistan Out of an Old Continent (1947)

#### The End of British Rule

AS WORLD WAR II DREW TO ITS TUMULTUOUS CLOSE, IT WAS clear to everyone who followed international affairs that India would achieve her independence. By 1946 there was little economic justification for British rule. In the administrative sphere the government had already passed into Indian hands. Many a Britisher was "fed up" with fighting to hold a reluctant India and there was in the Atlee government a firm determination to fulfill the long promise of self-rule. Just *how* the exact date and shape of "ex-ruled-India" would be determined was not so clear. Opinions of American citizens were colored by the newspaper they read: the *Chicago Tribune* or the *New York Times*. Some people could not understand Mahatma Gandhi when he said: "I would like to put them all in boats (British) and send them out of India, but when they are out of sight of land, I would like to bring them back as brothers, not rulers."

Despite the significant externals—banks, irrigation canals, roads and bridges—the two-century British rule had made only the slightest impression on India's heart and soul. It was for Mahatma Gandhi to hear Mother India's heart-beat, lay a gaunt finger on the pulse of four hundred million people and fashion their emotions into a non-violent lever to unseat the British *raj*.<sup>3</sup>

India's struggle for independence did not take place in a



vacuum, but had World War II as a backdrop. It brought thousands of American soldiers from sheltered villages into a strange and exciting land. They, too, brought new ideas of free men in a free world. Americans and Indians began to see each other at close range for the first time.

### Pakistan

Because the British Government did not manage India's entry into World War II with conspicuous tact, the National Congress Party, the oldest, largest and most powerful political machine, refused to take office and boycotted the war effort. It not only weakened the strength of the British in their struggle with Nazism, but also made possible the rise of the Muslim League's "dream-child"—Pakistan.<sup>4</sup> Out of Pakistan came the first refugees producing the misery and the relief efforts which form the core of this book. To ensure realization of Muslim goals, Mr. Mohammed Ali Jinnah<sup>5</sup> denounced the Congress Party for its antiwar effort, not because it hindered the Allied cause but was in his view a political blackmail for putting pressure on the British Government. It was a tragedy that both Congress and the League acted as though they knew nothing of the tragedies beyond their frontier. On the day Singapore fell the Muslim mouthpiece, *The Dawn*, shouted: "Pakistan is our deliverance, defense, destiny . . . Pakistan is our only demand . . . and, by God, we will have it."

While India remained aloof politically from the war, she was changed mightily by its total impact. Manufacturers made huge profits while the masses became poorer. There was a shortage of food, prices skyrocketed and "black-market" became a household word. When independence came to India, her economic structure was strained. Over-taxed factories needed modernization, the food reserves

were inadequate and the morale of the masses was at a low ebb. Add to this the fact that religious issues, which had troubled India for a thousand years, were fomenting and now burst with volcanic violence.

### Muslim Invaders

In understanding the bifurcation of India into predominantly Hindu India and Muslim Pakistan we must recall the historic facts which Jinnah directed and manipulated. Prior to A.D. 1000 Hindu India had been able to absorb the numerous people who had crossed the Himalayas or landed on the extensive shore line. But the coming of the waves of Muslim invaders from Central Asia brought new ideas, culture and a religion that could not be assimilated. Under Amir Mahmud of Ghazni, an Afghan Turk, seventeen looting expeditions were carried out. Mahmud's horsemen who began their raids in A.D. 998 considered India a land bequeathed to them by Allah for pillage. Stern monotheists, despising idolatry and believing in the brotherhood of man, the Muslims abhorred the polytheism, idols and caste system of the Hindus. The Hindus fought back, but were no match for these hardy invaders from Central Asia. India was not united and moreover fighting was the work of one caste, the *ksatriyas*.

In 1191 Mohammed Ghori of Afghanistan raided India and occupied much of the north. When he died, his generals established a Muslim kingdom at Delhi which existed from 1206 to 1388 when the fierce Amir Timur, the famed Tamerlane of English literature, plundered Delhi. The Muslims massacred fifty thousand Hindus and carried away over one hundred thousand. One historian wrote that the city was "utterly ruined" and "for two whole months not a bird moved a wing in Delhi."

In 1524 the founder of the Mogul dynasty, Babur, invaded India.<sup>6</sup> This Turk, descended from Genghis Khan, came from what is now Russian Turkestan. After capturing Kabul in Afghanistan, he moved on to India. With twelve thousand horsemen he defeated the weak Delhi Sultante at Panipat.<sup>7</sup> Babur's son, Akbar, became the greatest of the Moguls and his mighty empire stretched from the Himalayas to the Vindhya range in the south. It is generally admitted that the Mogul Empire at the beginning of the seventeenth century was the best organized and most prosperous then existing in the world. His successors added color to the Muslim saga: Jehangir (1605-1627); Shah Jahan, who built the epic Taj Mahal;<sup>8</sup> and Aurangzeb (1659-1707) with whose defeat on the field of battle at the age of eighty-nine ended this last bold move to complete the political unification of India under Muslim rule and revive Islamic law.

### The Impact of Muslim Culture

These Muslim rulers were amazing. They were patrons of the arts, builders of magnificent cities, fierce fanatics and cruel in battle. What too many Hindus forget is the reality of the Muslim impact on Indian culture. The institution of *pardah*, the seclusion of women, was adopted by the Hindus. Hindi, a major Indian language, was changed to Urdu by the use of Persian script and the addition of some Arabic words and became the common language of North India until 1947. Muslim ideas of monotheism and democracy, later to be reinforced by Christian ideals, prepared the soil for reform movements within Hinduism and encouraged the nationalist movement for independence. Muslim engineers added much to the Indian scene. The Delhi sultans

introduced the mosque and the tomb with their arch, dome and delicate minaret. They left Fatipur Sikri, the Taj Mahal at Agra, and the Red Fort at Delhi with its fabulous marble and Peacock Throne. In addition to this, the Muslim conquests of India, A.D. 1191 to A.D. 1707, brought invaders who were proud of their culture and had no intention of being assimilated by the Hindu majority.

### Muslim Nationalism

Hindu-Muslim tension was eased by the challenge of a common goal—independence. Britain became a common foe and not until the first quarter of the nineteen hundreds did leaders in both groups begin to grapple with the fact of what would happen after independence. In 1922 the first serious Hindu-Muslim riots occurred in the Punjab. There were eighteen riots in 1924 which led Gandhi to undertake a three-week fast. There were thousands of deaths in fifty riots during 1926. The Cawnpore riots of 1931 were followed by the Kashmir outbreaks.

All this the Hindus knew and the Muslims remembered. The conditions were ripe for Mohammed Ali Jinnah to lead a powerful Muslim national movement. It took more than Jinnah. The foment that made his crusade possible reaches back to the first Afghan raider in A.D. 1191. Between 1937 and 1947 he rose from the ranks to lead the Pakistan movement. Mr. Jinnah said that Hindu-Muslim peace was wrecked on the "rocks of Congress Fascism." Mr. Nehru contends that the rift was due to economic reasons for the Muslims had become India's "have-nots" with the Hindus dominating the educational, professional and government circles. But what most failed to see was the strength of Muslim nationalism.

### Gandhi Turns to Religion

L. S. S. O'Malley, formerly Superintendent of the Census and Secretary to the Government of Bengal, remarks that "it has been said by an Indian that the heart of India is eternally religious and cannot understand anything unless it is stated in religious terms."<sup>9</sup> Proof of this is seen in the unsuccessful political campaigns of the Congress Party at the turn of the century.<sup>10</sup> Then came Mahatma Gandhi and provided the necessary spiritual motives. He took ancient religious terms from orthodox Hinduism and gave them political meaning. He infused the Hindu concept of "soul-force" with a modern significance capable of combatting Western arms. Out of religious scriptures came the raw-stuff to fashion the "non-violent, non-cooperation" lever. This lifted him above the masses and gave him a power no secular politician could achieve. Only a holy man in India could do this. As one frequently heard: "Hindus looked upon Gandhi as a mouthpiece of their gods."<sup>11</sup>

It was inevitable that this emphasis on Hinduism would arouse Muslim fears, eventually alienate vast numbers of the Muslim League from the Nationalist Movement and give rise to a fiery leader—Mohammed Ali Jinnah.<sup>12</sup> When Jinnah cried, "only over the dead bodies of Muslims will the Congress Party flag fly in the Northern Provinces,"<sup>13</sup> religious fanaticism was invoked which did not subside until flame and butchery without mercy chastened the two young dominions.

### Muslims Fear Subjection

India's pre-independence population of four hundred million was three fourths Hindu. As the Nationalist Movement progressed, grave doubts as to their security if the

British left, arose within the Muslim community. Whether rightly or wrongly, the fact is that the second largest religious group in India with nearly one hundred million adherents was worried. It is unfortunate that the majority party's "hell-bent for freedom" mood and the intemperate remarks of a few leaders fanned this initial apprehension into a flame-like fear. Jinnah became increasingly antagonistic to what he regarded as the Hindu tendency of Congress and in defense became "the living symbol of Muslim unity."<sup>14</sup> Jinnah took hold of a briefly sketched plan of Sir Muhammad Iqbal, in his presidential address before the League in 1930, in which he advocated a single Muslim state in north-west India; a scheme which had grown until it called for the creation of a new state in India to be called Pakistan, and worked with tireless zeal to see it realized. By 1941 Jinnah could declare to a group of students: "It is clear as daylight that we are not a minority. We are a nation."<sup>15</sup> Jinnah's "two-nation" theory gave rise to the partition of India, the 1947 riots, thirteen and one half million refugees and an evil brood of post-independence problems.

### Congress Derision

Why did they laugh? The resolution adopted by the 1940 All-India Muslim League declaring that areas where Muslims were in the majority should be grouped as an independent state of which the constituent units should be autonomous was given scant consideration. The first reaction of the Congress Party was derisive. There were few in 1940 India who would have admitted that the Pakistan dream would grow so rapidly ending in vast tragedy in the closing months of 1947.<sup>16</sup> "The Muslims a nation?" "Ha! Ha!" they replied in 1940 when patience and sympathy

might have won an apprehensive minority's loyalty. But the Congress strong men laughed. It took the horror of rioting millions to sober and chasten the Hindu majority and induce them to declare India a secular state. It took the assassination of Mahatma Gandhi to shake away old prejudices and revive a semblance of Hindu-Muslim fellowship.

The Congress Party influenced so profoundly by Mahatma Gandhi and his younger follower Jawaharlal Nehru had always championed Indian unity. Partition of their motherland was a repugnant idea. However, the fast-moving events and mounting tension following upon the British Cabinet Mission's proposals of May, 1946, compelled the Congress to accept that which had been a repugnant idea. The demand of this powerful Muslim minority for freedom from the majority party necessitated the partition of India into two independent nations: the Union of India with a Hindu majority and Pakistan with a Muslim majority. During years of party maneuvering and bitter debate, Mr. Jinnah's position on British withdrawal was "you divide and quit," whereas the Congress slogan was a defiant "you quit and we will divide." Mr. Jinnah won.

### Direct Action

Before the joint decision was arrived at by the Congress Party, the Sikh leaders and the Muslim League, that partition was inevitable, there was bitter conflict and bloodshed. Hate fed hate and blood cleansed blood. The Indian Christian community was a neutral body and was called to conduct large-scale relief activities beginning in 1947 and reaching large proportions by 1952.<sup>17</sup>

"Where would it end?" we foreigners who lived in India asked. After joining the Congress in accepting the British

Cabinet Mission's proposals and participating in the Provincial elections for the proposed Constituent Assembly which would meet in New Delhi to frame the Constitution, the Muslim League then rejected all phases of participation on July 26, 1946. But more alarming was the Muslim League's threat to institute "direct action" for the attainment of Pakistan. "Where would this end?" we asked, as an irresponsible tirade poured from Muslim sources.

Sir Feroze Khan Noon, a member of the Muslim League Council said: "We are on the threshold of a great tragedy, because neither Hindus nor the British realize the depths of our feelings. Even if we have to die fighting, we shall see that our children will never be the slaves of Akhand Hindustan. . . . If Britain puts us under a Hindu *raj*, let us tell Britain that the destruction and havoc that the Muslims will do in this country will put into the shade what Genghis Khan did." Muslim students in Lucknow prepared uniforms, conducted drill and stood in readiness for their marching orders. The cult of the sword was propagated.

Meantime the Central Government of India was constituted in July, 1946, upon the popular basis of the Cabinet Mission's proposals with all parties joining save the Princes and the Muslim League. Three months later this recalcitrant party joined the Government through the good office of the Viceroy of India only to announce that it did not recognize the cabinet character of the Government and was "in" only to protect Muslim interests, i.e., Pakistan. While this "high level" diplomacy was going on, the men in the street were reacting on a much lower level—as planned. The Muslim League's already formulated program for Direct Action went ahead. Thus, one year before the transfer of power between Great Britain and India, the Great



Calcutta Killing with its tragic story of murder and arson took place.

### **"Great Calcutta Killing"**

On Direct Action Day, August 16, 1946, communal frenzy was at its height in Bengal with congested Calcutta as a focal point. There were 4,700 deaths, 15,000 wounded and 150,000 refugees fled from Calcutta amidst an orgy of arson and looting. This was followed by tragic events in Noakhali and Bihar. Horror followed horror and each produced a chain reaction which exploded in a new place. By March, 1947, large-scale hooliganism jumped across the Gangetic valley to Rawalpindi, Multan and Jhelum. The Congress Ministers in the new Central Government were unable to stop the riots partly because of the difficulty of a "Central Government" interfering with the day-to-day administration of the "Provincial Governments." It was the familiar issue of Washington versus the state capital—only with more dire consequences.

Slowly and reluctantly as the casualty lists grew, villages were destroyed and hate mounted, the Congress leaders realized that it was useless to force the Muslim League into a partnership they did not relish and accepted the principle of partition. The dream of a united free India did not see dawn. Fear in the dark depths of the mind had conquered faith.

### **The British Promise**

The British Prime Minister, Mr. G. R. Atlee, stated in the House of Commons on February 20, 1947, that he deplored the fact that despite the Interim Government at New Delhi the Congress-League differences prevented the Constituent Assembly from operating effectively. He viewed

with alarm the rising wave of terrorism and destruction. Again he reiterated that His Majesty's Government had every intention of transferring power to responsible Indian hands not later than June, 1948. Negotiations were begun which led to the partition of a sub-continent. Another item of tremendous importance was the announcement that Lord Wavell was recalled as Viceroy and Lord Louis Mountbatten was sworn in as the last Viceroy of India on March 24, 1947, and rushed into the tangle of Indian politics with the bold joy of a knight in a tournament. He was determined to stave off civil war and consummate British promises. Few realized, when this surprise appointment was made, the significant contribution Lord Louis and Lady Mountbatten would make to Indo-British relationships or the depth of understanding and compassion they brought to a bewildered people.

The Indian leaders of the Nationalist Movement who had been straining to upset the British *raj* with increasing determination since the Mutiny of 1857 found the 1947 independence tempo almost too fast! Mountbatten describes how the Law Officers of the Crown in London worked all night on the draft of the Indian Independence Bill.<sup>18</sup> Atlee's original plan called for the transfer of power to Indian hands by June, 1948, but this was pushed up to August 15, 1947. The result was that patriots who had been straining against strong oak doors to get a crack found it suddenly wide open and they fell pellmell across their strategy, dreams and plans. The loss of solid opposition temporarily unbalanced many leaders who had been trained from childhood to push the British out. They discovered with embarrassment that it took new muscular skill and mental outlook to successfully uplift their downtrodden fellow villagers.

Lord Mountbatten met with the Indian leaders on June 2 and on the following day broadcast to the country that since there was no acceptable plan for preserving the political unity of India, the transfer of power from British hands to two governments each with dominion status would take place within the next few months. He continued by stating that the existing Constituent Assembly as convened December 9, 1946, would continue to function. In regard to Provinces with a Muslim majority, the 1941 census figures being taken as definitive, they were free to choose whether their Constitution would be framed by the existing body or by a new assembly convened for that purpose.

### Muslim Unity

Not all the Indian Muslims accepted the League's platform that they constituted a separate nation, distinguished from Hindu, Sikh, Buddhist, Jain, Parsee or Christian. The Muslim community was divided because there were many who could not honestly describe a body of converts from Hinduism to Islam and "their descendants as a nation apart from the parent stock."<sup>19</sup> Another Muslim who was a Congress Leader, Maulana Azad, declared in a speech that when the Constituent Assembly met, it would have "unfettered rights to make a constitution; and would legislate for a united, not a divided India."<sup>20</sup> Jinnah was incensed at this.

Nevertheless, as a result of the plebiscites held in Muslim-majority areas, two territories were carved out of the Indian sub-continent to form East and West Pakistan. They comprised Sind, N. W. Frontier Province, Baluchistan, West Punjab including Bahawalpur; and eastward across a thousand mile corridor, two thirds of Bengal known as East Pakistan. After India's declared intent to establish a secular

state, it should be remembered that this sub-continent was not divided on the basis of religion; but was partitioned in response to the demand of self-determination by a Muslim minority as propounded and championed by the Muslim League under Mr. Jinnah's zeal.

### Indian Independence Bill

The clear intent of the British Government was seen in the speedy passage of the Indian Independence Bill by both Houses of Parliament, which became law on July 18, 1947. The Act was a simple and straightforward document of twenty sections. How is it possible now to conjure up the initial tingle of excitement when it was first read in the *Statesman*? Section I of the Act provided that on the appointed day there should be set up in India two Independent Dominions known respectively as India and Pakistan. The Sections dealt respectively with: the extent of the territories of the two Dominions; the appointment by the King of Governor Generals; the powers of the new Dominion Legislatures; the machinery of adaptation; the position of Services; and various provisions of a technical nature. This was received with general enthusiasm in the United States and evoked the deep memories of July 4, 1776. India's great day was fixed for August 15, 1947.

### Carving a Continent

A plan and machinery was necessary to carry out "one of the greatest administrative features in history," the partition of a vast sub-continent with four hundred million inhabitants and the transfer of power from colonial rule to two independent governments. Even Mr. Jinnah was led to remark: "Such voluntary and absolute transfer of power and rule by one nation over others is unknown in the

history of the world." <sup>21</sup> A sub-committee of the Interim Government appointed a Partition Committee composed of H. E. the Governor General Lord Louis Mountbatten, Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan, Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel and Dr. Rajendra Prasad. When the Legislative Assembly of Sind voted for a separate Constituent Assembly, this special Cabinet Committee was replaced by the Partition Council which worked even after August 15. Ten expert committees under the Council covered the whole field of Administrative detail and dealt with: Organization, Records, Personnel of Government, Assets and Liabilities, Central Revenues, Contracts, Currency and Exchange, Controls and Trade, Domicile, Foreign Relations and the Armed Forces. Beginning work the third week of June, 1947, they made an initial report within a month and by vigorous efforts few fundamental matters were undecided by August 15. Here was a remarkable achievement.

High level discussions were held in both Lahore and New Delhi to settle ticklish issues between the two Governments. These discussions were conducted in a spirit of good will and produced excellent results.

### **The Frontier Announced**

There was one problem that did not produce good will and that was the fixing of the boundary between India and Pakistan. The fixing of the boundaries touched off a holocaust which rocked the two nations and left scars which time—decades of it—alone will heal.

Where would India end and Pakistan begin? Wherever the boundary, people were affected and realized that this thin line would determine the language and culture with which they would be identified forever. The Governor General appointed Sir Cyril Radcliffe to be Chairman of

the Punjab and Bengal Boundary Commissions which he constituted on June 30, 1947. His frame of reference was to demarcate the boundaries on "the basis of ascertaining the contiguous majority areas of Muslims and non-Muslims." It was a hopeless and thankless task, but the two Commissions met under their common chairman and struggled through a maze of fact, propaganda and stubbornness.

A variety of groups such as the Congress, Muslim League, Hindu Mahasabbha and Sikhs were invited to make their representation in public hearings. Not only were the representatives of established organizations at disagreement, but the members of the Commissions held divergent views. The result was that the Chairman proceeded under the Indian Independence Act to make his own award on August 17, 1947, which plunged the exuberant nations into unmitigated horror and bloodshed.

### The Radcliffe Award

The Radcliffe Award was enforced by both Governments and satisfied neither. There was less consternation at the East Pakistan award than over the division of the Punjab. The Congress Party framed its platform on the basis of protecting the culture and land of the Sikhs, the need for defense, an equitable distribution of the irrigation systems, river water and canal colonies. But the Sikhs and Muslim League made firm demands which centered in the area between the Beas and Sutlej rivers on the one hand and the Ravi River on the other. The boundary award press comments made startling reading. A "departing kick of British imperialism" declared the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*. "Self-Contradictory" read the *Hindustan Standard*. "Territorial murder" was the verdict of the Muslim League organ, *The Dawn*. No community was satisfied with the new

boundaries. The Muslims regretted the loss of Calcutta. In fact, it did cut at the root of Bengal's economy because all road and rail communications radiated out of Calcutta—the hub. It put industrialization within West Bengal and concentrated agriculture (jute, sugar cane, mustard, rice) into East Bengal. The Bengalis complained that communication with them and Assam was difficult, if not impossible. Boundary disputes inevitably arose but it is unnecessary to discuss the details of these 1947-52 disputes. Only a joint desire to find amicable solutions to all Indo-Pakistan problems will insure security and peace for these two sister nations conceived in a war-ridden world and born amid communal frenzy.<sup>22</sup>

### "For King and Commonwealth"

Independence became a fact at midnight, August 14, 1947, for both Pakistan and the Union of India. August 15 was a day of great rejoicing. Villages and cities were colorfully decorated. Parades culminated in mass meetings where high officials unfurled the new saffron-green-white flag. The schools celebrated the day with patriotic drama, music and the distribution of sweets.

The Constituent Assembly in New Delhi met in an exultant mood. Greetings were sent to Pakistan. There was a naïve assumption that the British having withdrawn, the problems would vanish. Politicians spoke eloquently of great plans and world leadership. But at least one economist was alarmed at the waving of plans and said, "The world is mad about planning."<sup>23</sup>

Lord Mountbatten became Governor-General of the new Dominion of India and swore in his Cabinet with Pandit Nehru as Prime Minister. Not only India held impressive ceremonies, but the world saluted. The flag of India was

raised to join those of the fifty-four member nations of the United Nations Organization at Lake Success. *The London Daily Mail* changed its masthead from "For King and Empire" to "For King and Commonwealth."

Little did the happy celebrants know of the mass murder, arson and looting taking place on that very day in the Punjab or the first streams of fear-ridden refugees fleeing from their ancestral homes. Two weeks later the mood of easy victory and masterful accomplishment was shattered by the impact of mob violence and slaughter. For some weeks law and order over the entire sub-continent was in danger of collapse. Even the great grew weary and Mahatma Gandhi said in September of 1947: "There was a time when India listened to me. Today I am a back number. I have no place in the new order."<sup>24</sup> It was tragic to see Mahatma Gandhi who had awakened his people and set them struggling for a noble and distant goal, ineffectual in meeting Hindu-Muslim chaos. In the ensuing mass migrations India and Pakistan were saddled with serious problems which humbled and chastened the freedom-intoxicated patriots. Their world was not so simple or secure after August 15—as they had dreamed it would be!



## CHAPTER II

### Greatest Mass Migration in History (1947)

#### Communal Frenzy

THE MUSLIM LEAGUE HAD BEEN SOWING THE SEEDS OF COMMUNAL frenzy since the launching of Direct Action on August 16, 1946. But no one with the liveliest imagination could have predicted that disaster of such intensity would come from partition and result in the wholesale transfer of populations. Two weeks after independence, the harassed, attacked and pursued Hindus and Sikhs of Pakistan began to flee into India. Uprooted from their ancestral homes, they started an exodus that finally numbered seven and one half million evacuees. At the same time it should be remembered that six million harassed, attacked and pursued Muslims in India fled to Pakistan. The bulk of the millions were on the move between September and December, 1947. They fled through heat and rain, flood and bitter Punjab cold. The dust of the caravans stretched low across the Indian plains and mingled with the scent of fear and sweat, human waste and putrifying bodies. When the cloud of hate subsided the roll of the dead was called and five hundred thousand names echoed across the dazed land—dead of gunshot wounds, sword, dagger and knife slashes and others of epidemic diseases. While the largest number died of violence, there were tired, gentle souls who looked across their plundered gardens and then lay down and died. For what good is life when reason stops and men run wild? Why pluck your baby from the spike or draw your lover from the murky well?

Let the cold, calculating statistics speak. One out of every fifty persons in India today (1952) is a refugee from Pakistan. The concentration is heaviest near the Indo-Pakistan border as in New Delhi where every third man, woman or child is a refugee. Five million fled from West Pakistan (Punjab) while two and one half million came from East Pakistan (Bengal). What a staggering task for any nation to tackle in the first year of self-rule.

By the end of April, 1952, when I returned to the United States on furlough, the Government of India had spent \$306,000,000 on refugee relief and rehabilitation. This vast sum might have been spent on roads, schools, art museums and hospitals had not this unnatural partition and Great Killing occurred.<sup>25</sup>

In order to see its full effect we must recall the chaos which resulted from the launching of Direct Action Day by the Muslim League, August 16, 1946. An unbelievable outburst of communal frenzy swept the land. Thousands of people were killed in Calcutta in the first two days of horror. *The Statesman* of August 18, 1946, editorially commented: "It was obvious from an early hour that some of those who were set on disrupting the city's peace were privileged. The bands of ruffians rushing about in lorries, stopping to assault and attack and generally spreading fear and confusion, found the conveyances they wanted; it is not a ridiculous assumption that they had been provided for in advance." Incidentally, Bengal was then governed by a Muslim League Ministry.

### The Chain of Violence

After the great Calcutta Killing, the next Direct Action disturbance was in a peaceful district of East Bengal,

Noakhali, where the Hindus were only eighteen percent of the population and could never endanger the security of the Muslim majority. The horror started October 10 and fanned by hate, swept through seven hundred villages; then leaped across the salty breach to Sandwip Island in the Bay of Bengal. The same pattern emerged: An armed mob surrounded the village; abducted and raped the women; forcibly converted Hindus to Islam; and then looted, burned and destroyed dwellings and business property. It was a sudden shouting horror. Then silence broken by the crackle of flames or the moan of a sword-pierced victim lying in a doorway.

The reaction to the Noakhali atrocities was immediate and led to retaliation by the Hindus in Bihar which stopped short of grim horror only through the vigilance of the Bihar Ministry and the Congress workers. But the reports of the Bihar troubles were exaggerated in the press and created retaliatory riots and mass murder over a thousand miles away in West Punjab where the Hindus and Sikh minorities were subjected to the same torture pattern as that of Noakhali. It was at this point that the country was partitioned and at the suggestion of Lord Mountbatten, who was deeply concerned by the events, a joint appeal for Hindu-Sikh-Muslim peace was issued under the joint signatures of Mahatma Gandhi and Mr. M. A. Jinnah. But the hate band "played on" and violence continued.

In New Delhi urgent matters confronting the week-old Government were shelved as governmental eyes watched the chain of violence reactions spread. The Great Killing in Delhi was a direct result of the Punjab holocaust. Pandit Nehru, Prime Minister of India, made a hurried trip to East Punjab on August 17, 1947. He held a conference with

India and Pakistan leaders at Ambala and then went to Lahore, Pakistan, with Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan, the Pakistan Premier, and saw the mounting evidence of unruliness. He wrote: "In both Amritsar and Lahore we heard ghastly tales and saw thousands of refugees, Hindu, Muslim and Sikh. . . . Anti-social elements were abroad, defying all authority and destroying the very structure of society." Violence increased and on August 24, Mr. Nehru made a second tour of the Punjab hoping to restore law and order through a series of "whistle stop" addresses. Everywhere the situation deteriorated. The streets in villages and cities were littered with the dead. Armed mobs halted trains and killed all persons of the opposite community. Men were stoned to death and children nailed to walls with spikes. Rail and lorry transport was halted for days and famed hill resorts such as Simla and Mussoorie<sup>26</sup> were completely demoralized by armed looting. During November Mussoorie was overrun by Sikhs<sup>27</sup> who had suffered in the Punjab and were hot for revenge. They butchered the Muslims, pursued them through the valley paths and wrecked their property. The children in Woodstock School, where many of the five hundred boarders are American, watched the Muslim homes on the adjoining hill go up in smoke. How can such brutality be explained or described?

### **"Fly, the Beloved Country"**

Hindus and Sikhs began to flee towns and villages close to the Indo-Pakistan border and enter India in small unorganized bands toward the end of August. (It was not until September that the organized convoy system was started.) Leaving their ancestral homes, land and possessions, save that which they could carry, push in carts or load on an

ox-cart, and sometimes driving the best heads from their livestock, the minority groups started for India. Every hour of the day and night, they were under attack and suffered heavy casualties. They suffered not only at the hands of cruel men, but nature was also violent. Great heat was followed by the most devastating floods since 1900. Tens of thousands were caught in the rising flood waters of the Beas River. They crouched atop ox-carts until they were submerged and then in the darkness were swirled away or caught in the branches of the tree-lined roads. When the waters subsided and the rains ceased, the trees were grotesque with their odd assortment of hay, broken camp cots, cattle carcasses and human bodies. The vultures came and feasted!

They marched or rode for days with distance thinning their ranks. Cholera, dysentery, small-pox and pneumonia were rife. Those who persevered, surviving the attacks of hostile neighbors, the floods and disease, had also hunger, exhaustion and bewilderment to bear. They had done nothing personally to turn last year's friendly neighbors into enemies. So thought the victims in both migratory streams. Panic, starvation, disease, rape, abduction of women, flood and death lived with the Muslims fleeing from India to Pakistan and also with the Hindus and Sikhs fleeing from Pakistan to India. When it was over, India and Pakistan could count not less than one half million who had died along the "freedom trail." Foreigners moved about freely, the Indian Christians, the Parsees and Buddhists were not molested, for they were all neutrals. This was a three-cornered carnage involving Hindus, Sikhs and Muslims. It is because of this fact that foreign residents in India and members of the non-rioting communities were able to

set up relief projects and make a significant contribution to peace and order.

### Don't Blame India

I do not blame the Government of India for what transpired because they had no reason, no advance facts, to anticipate the enormity of the disturbances. Contrary to carnival lore, Mr. Nehru and his colleagues do not consult "crystal balls" before making administrative decisions! Neither government was prepared to receive, shelter or relocate the millions who were spewed out of hate upon the roads. My work took me to Delhi during all this period, August to December, 1947, and I saw the grave administrative difficulties that India faced. The new Government of the East Punjab lacked essential equipment. Amritsar, with its Golden Temple of Sikh fame, and Jullundur, could not be reached by telephone or telegraph. Because the preponderance of railroad engineers had been Muslim, all rail communication was disrupted. The army was in the process of being reorganized following partition. The exchange of officers, transfer of units, division of equipment and military stores had put the cantonments in an awkward position for maximum efficiency. But they came through and did a magnificent job. The lack of ground communication was offset by the air services which operated out of Delhi and in many instances saved the day. Messages and food were delivered by air and movements of marching refugee columns noted, directed and followed by air reconnaissance. In Chapter III we shall see that provisions for the relief of the refugees had to be made regardless of readiness. Medical personnel, foodstuffs, tents and gasoline were required in colossal quantities. But, shout it to the nations, India came through! She met the impact and stood.

### Delhi's Grim Month

Many months were difficult, but September, 1947, was Delhi's grim month. Refugees by the thousands poured in from Pakistan by every type of conveyance and feelings began to rise. The basest human passions, which the Muslim League had been inciting for many years, found expression as the Hindu and Sikh minority communities were squeezed out of West Pakistan. It was only human nature that East Punjab and Delhi reacted to these happenings north of the border and that refugees reaching India alive took revenge upon the Muslims.

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, Deputy Prime Minister, sensed trouble and appealed to the people to be calm in a September 3 public address. He said that he realized the refugees had gone through indescribable horror and had seen their property destroyed, their women raped and their loved ones murdered with unspeakable brutality. He reminded them that they had passed through a veritable hell in which "human beings have sunk to levels lower even than those of the most savage animals." Out of his great heart he appealed to the massed refugees in Delhi to remember that any attempt at retaliation or revenge would dissipate energy needed by the Government to tackle nation-building activities. But his words went unheeded and Delhi seethed with hate.

The military was called out and curfew imposed on September 4, because of the stabbings, arson and panic. Friday witnessed large-scale rioting in the city and for a fortnight, it was a question whether or not the Government would get the upper hand. The sudden onrush of desperate refugees, the plan of a few Sikhs to capture Delhi for a Sikhistan capital, the desertion of the bulk of the Muslims from the

Delhi Police Force, crippled the efficiency of the police. Order was restored after the arrival of troops and police reinforcements from outlying cities and provinces.

I left Moradabad at dawn in late September, reaching Delhi at noon on the last train to enter for forty-eight hours. This train carried the Grenadiers who were well equipped and armed. It did not occur to me that it was a troop train, but the officers invited me aboard. I was the only civilian. "It must be worse in Delhi than newspaper reports," I thought. Farther on I became troubled because the usual joyful clamor of the stations was absent. There were no chanting vendors of water, "pan-beeries-cigarettes," sweets, tea, curry, fruit or magazines. When we reached Delhi at noon, the great station was deserted. There were no taxis. No trains came or went. The restaurants had been looted the previous night and there was no food. Corpses lay on the platforms, tracks and in the carriages.

Twice, armed bands of thirty to seventy in number combed the station for hiding Muslims and both times made a kill. An old Muslim farmer had come to town with two guinea fowls to sell, one tucked under each arm. I saw him start across the deserted courtyard when the mob spotted him. They left him in a pool of blood with scores of slashes. I walked out to him as he raised his head and tried to speak. But no sound came. He fell back silent and I left him with two bound-footed guinea fowls hopping clumsily in the pool of fresh blood. I could not have eaten had there been a dozen tea stalls and a restaurant.

I remained in the station for twenty-four hours, realizing that it was madness to wander alone in riot-torn Delhi. But, I was quite safe in the deserted station. The next day reporters in a police van visited the station and "rescued" me. That night the trains resumed operation.



During my stay at the station, I saw unbelievable things. Looters came in the afternoon and broke open dozens of railway express boxes and trunks. They threw the contents to the winds and seemed to be "carried away" by their hooliganism. A mischievous urchin put on a pair of silver ballroom slippers and did a lewd dance. Another modeled a white bra against his dark skin while the mob convulsed with laughter.

I sat on a wall and looked on. The only time looters came near me was to ask the price of the glass vials of medicine which they found in a box they broke. I said they were worth Rs 10 each and they were very pleased. The climax of the day came when boxes of post cards and stamped envelopes consigned to Pakistan were discovered and smashed. The very sight of something for Pakistan aroused their wrath. They battered the boxes to bits. They threw the cards and envelopes by the thousands into the air. They shouted slogans not to the credit of Pakistan. Fires were lit and envelopes burned. One exuberant lad urinated on Pakistani post cards. It was an incredible sight to see their Muslim hate expressing itself with such sweaty abandon; to watch the soaring post cards catch the slanting sunset beams and throw flickering patterns on the wall; to see that the corpse nearest my wall had bloated until the army surplus trousers had split; and to realize with a start that you understood the language of the talkative station crows for they were shrieking: "Split pants, split pants, split pants." Tonight, crows. Tomorrow, buzzards. Day after tomorrow, jackals.

I had five India post cards and noting names and addresses on five smashed trunks wrote the consignee that their trunk would not arrive for I had seen it smashed, the

contents thrown to high heaven and presumed all would be swept away when order was restored.

Climbing the stairs to the "Gentlemen's First Class Waiting Room," I found it dark and empty. No electric lights. I bolted the door, spread my bedding roll on the cement floor, drank deeply from my water canteen and was not disturbed. It was too warm to sleep. There were also shots, death screams, the crash of glass and shouts from the direction of the Ridge and Sabzi Mandi. (Later I learned that a small war had raged in this area. Wireless transmitters, guns, bombs, mortars, hand grenades and armored vehicles were widely used by the Muslims and Sikhs.) I knew the meaning of the sounds. Muslims were being butchered like flies and those who fled were mercilessly pursued by armed mobs screaming across the warm night, "Kill him, kill him, kill him."

### India Recovers

Such horror as this had its effect upon India's leaders. Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel was changed and shaken by the rule of mob violence. He was chagrined to discover a determined Sikh plot to seize a portion of North India for their Sikhistan. Mahatma Gandhi was broken in spirit and depressed. He turned to the National Christian Council relief workers and said, "I have found myself singing 'Rock of Ages.'" His message of non-violence rallied India and inspired individuals in Europe and the American continent. He visited hospitals, held conferences, worked and prayed that the minority groups in India would be safe. His influence began to be felt. Violence diminished as November and December progressed.

Pandit Nehru addressed a public meeting in Delhi on September 29, and reminded the people that they had an

Indian culture to uphold. "The Muslim League did incalculable harm to India," Mr. Nehru said, and added that the demand of any group to create a Hindu State (Hindustan) was in reality "a victory for Pakistan." India's attempt to establish a sovereign democratic republic on the foundation of a secular state was born in an atmosphere of "blood, sweat and tears." India was not a homeland for the Hindu. India was to be a land where Hindu, Muslim, Sikh, Jain, Parsee, Buddhist, Jew, Christian and animist could live at peace.

Dr. Rajendra Prasad, President of the Constituent Assembly, a tower of urbane strength, declared, "Truth and non-violence were unfailing weapons which, without arms and armaments, won for India the invaluable prize of *swaraj*."

### Communalists

Even as the post-partition disorders were being put down and India's leaders pleaded for tolerance, communalists were organizing to overthrow the Government. They thrived on disorder. The Hindu-Mahasabha, the highly conservative orthodox Hindu organization, opposed concessions to the Muslims and advocated a Hindu empire which glorified the caste system and cow protection. While it is a small body, its anti-Muslim attitude strengthened the cause of extremists among the Muslims.

Another organization which became a menace to public peace was the Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh (RSSS). It had at one time 700,000 members. Its technique is fascist, with drills, leaders, uniforms and a tight discipline. It created the psychological condition in which the assassination of Mahatma Gandhi was possible. Both the Mahasabha and the RSSS were under deep suspicion by India's liberal

leaders in the Central Government, who were appealing for mutual respect and tolerance between all communities. When Gandhi, in the same month that the United Nations became concerned with Kashmir, almost singlehanded prevented a massacre in Calcutta, the RSS declared, "Remove the present Government, which is composed of men of straw and replace it by men who would be strong Hindus . . . declare the Indian Union a Hindu State; prepare the country on a basis of war with Pakistan." <sup>28</sup>

Two other groups creating tensions and aggravating the peace should be noted for they were fruits of the violence. League-minded Muslims in India conducted pro-Pakistan and pro-Razakar<sup>29</sup> propaganda and preached communal hatred. The Sikhs likewise had their body of agitators on communal lines: the Akali Party led by Master Tara Singh. It shouted: "Panth in Danger" to rally the Sikhs under a communal banner. Fortunately, despite large-scale suffering, this anti-India activity was confined to a small segment of the Punjab-Delhi Sikhs.

The Government with the assistance of many voluntary relief organizations was attempting to quiet the refugees and get them settled, but their task was made increasingly difficult by the communal groups, which have been described.

### Mahatma Gandhi

There was one man who towered above all others in the effort to bring divergent groups together: Mahatma Gandhi.<sup>30</sup> His achievements need not be repeated for his name echoes greatness of character, soul and achievement around the world. He began his last fast on January 13, 1948, to persuade leaders to oppose any anti-Muslim platform. Five days later, Muslim Azad and Hindu Nehru solemnly

declared that the life and property of Muslims in India would be protected. It was Mahatma Gandhi's victory.

But the Brahman editor of a Mahasabha weekly had already been picked to assassinate Gandhi. I was projecting a film in a school auditorium when the news came that Gandhi was dead. It was stunning news. He was walking to his prayer meeting when one named Godse shot him four times with a pistol at close range. The world paid tribute to India's great son.

His death made a significant contribution because his assassination brought Hindus, Sikhs and Muslims to their senses and made them see that this foul deed was a fruit of the chaos which communal hatred, partition and the great uprooting had produced. Although India got off to a shaky start, she began to stabilize and recover herself. India turned to the displaced people and the resources of the new republic were harnessed to the task of painful rehabilitation.

### Tattered They Came

Weary of body, tattered of garment and disturbed of soul, the once sturdy and proud, land-owning peasants of the rich agricultural lands of the Punjab were now huddled in their tent camps as the December rains fell. Behind was a heritage of horror and fear. Ahead loomed the dark unknown. What was done to minister to their needs? That is a moving story of epic proportions.

### CHAPTER III

## Meeting Human Need (1948)

### Evacuation

YOU HAD TO SEE IT TO BELIEVE IT. YOU HAD TO BE THERE TO understand the confusion, misery and pain of the uprooted millions who clogged the roads as they poured over the Pakistan border into India. Confusion piled on confusion because there were two opposite moving streams of people: Hindu-Sikh refugees from Pakistan relieving their pent-up fury on the Muslims fleeing to Pakistan and vice versa. Trains which ran were packed tight with hundreds huddled on the roof. The dusty-rutted roads were blocked for miles as the foot columns moved uncertainly toward the border. Every possible form of transport was used for evacuation—planes, motor lorries, pony carts (*tongas*), ox-carts, bicycles, horses and camel carts. When these facilities were taxed to capacity, thousands walked.

All classes were uprooted. It was not the story of simple illiterate peasants on the move, but the wealthy landowner and his tenants, artisans, village menials, businessmen, lawyers, doctors, distinguished men who a week previously had dined at their Rotary Club, were now part of the creaking stream of carts, cattle, donkeys, village dogs, men, women, crying babies, bicycles, buffaloes, baggage—all smothered in the acrid dust haze and motivated by the one urge—escape. Escape to India to live. Escape to Pakistan to live.

### Haphazard Beginnings

During September, 1947, the refugees traveled in disorganized parties, but by October the police, Indian Army

and voluntary relief agencies began to function. Police and army protection was needed in the evacuation phase because this was a two-way stream with each side attempting to kill as many in the opposite moving column as possible. Hence, the military escort kept the columns on the move. Thousands fell by the wayside of wounds, fatigue or disease. In ministering to these with mobile dispensaries, the voluntary relief agencies made a vital contribution.

The confused movement really had four phases: (1) The collection of refugees in marshaling camps on both sides of the border, Muslims in India and Sikhs and Hindus in Pakistan; (2) evacuation of refugees in both directions by plane, motor convoy, train or caravan; (3) reception camps, where evacuated refugees were received, examined, aided and kept, pending dispersal and (4) dispersal and rehabilitation.

### Convoys

During the height of the evacuation, the refugees were collected in marshaling camps, 120 to 150 miles from the border, and organized into caravans. The first caravan I saw on the Delhi-Lahore road stretched for twelve miles with 250 carts per mile and contained over fifty thousand people. The carts were piled high with beds, bedding, straw, pots and pans, buckets and other household effects. Atop were the women of the family, while the men trudged along. Above the dust and babble rose swarms of flies and overhead the vultures circled. Because the previous caravan had been viciously attacked at Jullundur, this one was better guarded. Armed Bren-gun carriers, armoured cars and tanks were at the intersecting streets while armed soldiers standing five yards apart kept the refugees on the move and watched for sudden attack. The military outlined

## MEETING HUMAN NEED

the routes, set the stages, started the caravans each morning and offered all possible protection until the call came to halt and the straggling column stretching from ten to twenty-seven miles from the nose of the first oxen to the tail of the last, ceased its movement toward "the promised land." In forty-two days (September 18 to October 29) twenty-four Hindu-Sikh caravans alone started on their 150-mile march from the prosperous agricultural colonies of Lyallpur and Montgomery districts bringing 849,000 refugees to India. But there were other caravans from other districts on other roads at this time. Seven hundred eighty-three refugee trains were run between August 27 and November 26, bringing over 2,799,000 refugees into India. Like the caravans, the refugee trains going in both directions were subjected to vicious attack by armed mobs, necessitating strong military protection. Later, stern measures were enacted against the villages through which the trains passed, namely, the imposition of collective fines and curfew.

### Dust Haze and a Turquoise Sky

Come near one of the camps at sunset and see the make-shift shelters. Blue smoke rises from a hundred fires. Shouts of children and the bleat of a goat are heard. The dust haze begins to change the sunset sky of turquoise and scarlet. Rags are draped over branches of trees, uprights or over the wagon wheels. People sit benumbed under their ox-carts. Tired mothers carry emaciated babies to the milk bar where police and volunteers preserve order. Sanitation? Primitive. Flies? Swarming. Fuel? Whatever could be scrounged. Trees are cut and neighborhood doors and windows looted. A tent has been set apart for medical relief. Dust, smoke, stench and over it all, a fog of apathy.



The high mood of hatred for the opposite community had gone with the terror and fatigue of flight. They will sit through the long evening with nothing to do, save brood over lost loved ones, lost possessions and an unknown future in a strange land.

The haunting part of it to the relief worker was the "dead pan" expression—everywhere. This complete apathy or "dead pan" was recognized by the Government officers, who urged all voluntary relief agencies to assist in the social and moral rehabilitation program of the reception camps. Classes for children, game periods and evening cinema shows broken only to give the news, became a standard part of our work. Here, many groups played an important role.

### Transport

Motor transport was used to collect the Hindu-Sikhs stranded in small villages and bring them to the marshaling yards or railheads. In October, 1947, the Military Evacuation Organization in the East Punjab area drew nearly one million gallons of gasoline. No reserve was spared in this gigantic humanitarian operation.

Air transport also played its part. Ten aircraft belonging to various Indian transport companies were mobilized and operated daily bringing non-Muslims for Lyallpur, Multan and Rawalpindi to Delhi. But they were fortunate for their trip was safe and speedy. Between September 1 and November 21, 32,000 refugees were flown in both directions with 600,000 gallons of aviation spirits consumed monthly for evacuation purposes. The masses who came by rail and convoy road had the rough time.

The evacuation of Hindus and Sikhs from Sind was

accomplished primarily by sea and rail. In addition to the steamers of the Persian Gulf Line, which picked up evacuees from Karachi on their run to Bombay, the Government chartered nine steamers to facilitate the exodus. The Karachi authorities, however, restricted clearance to only 2,000 a day and pleaded their inability to handle more. By November 21, over 133,000 refugees had been cleared from Sind by sea.

### Reception Centers

The Government of India with so few days of independence to its credit was faced with the staggering problem of providing food, shelter, medical care and clothing for the refugees on arrival. Few nations could have risen so valiantly to this task as India. Prime Minister Nehru said, "In future history, it will be said that vast and colossal as this problem was, something which might shake the very foundations of Government and the social order, the people of India stood up to it bravely, tackled it and, I hope, ultimately solved it to the advantage of the Nation." The Central Government wisely turned to educational, charitable and religious institutions for help which was willingly and generously given.<sup>31</sup> Military barracks were pressed into service and 160 tent cities arose.

The refugees needed to be examined medically and inoculated against communicable diseases such as cholera. Weeping women and children separated from their families required special camps and care. Husbands whose wives had been forcibly abducted, plead for the return of their loved one. While the refugees were now across the border and safe from brutal attack, they found themselves in a strange new land—without a job, home, tools or food. The

cold season was coming on and it brought incalculable hardship. The uprooted millions must be cared for and 160 camps arose out of the chaos with a cost that staggered the Central Government. Educational, agricultural and health projects were shelved as the Government of India turned its resources and attention to the problems of relief.

### Tent Cities

Imagine 181,548 tents in 160 camps where harassed commandants and assistant workers tried to organize their refugee population and care for the social, educational, health and family needs. The largest reception camp was located on the historic plain of Kurukshetra which the Central Government decided to make their own responsibility. It was planned for 100,000 refugees, but at one time housed over 300,000. During October, 1947, when I first saw it, 20,000 people were arriving each night. What a phenomenal growth! The army worked miracles to keep the tents rising ahead of the last refugees.<sup>32</sup> In addition to the tent camps, considerable numbers of refugees went to live with friends and relatives, which was possible in the joint-family system, while others were housed in localities vacated by Muslims, in religious institutions, schools, colleges and military establishments. There were eighty-five camps in East Punjab and others scattered in Faridkot, Udaipur, Indore, Gwalior, Alwar, Rewa, Kotah, Ratlam, Bombay, Madras, the Central Provinces and the United Provinces.

### Food for Millions

Food was a colossal problem. In Kurukshetra Camp alone one hundred tons of flour was consumed daily. Figure for

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yourself the quantity of salt, tea, rice, lentils, cooking oil and sugar needed daily for 300,000 people. But there were 159 other camps, plus the fact that food was distributed free to Muslims and non-Muslims alike.

After shelter and food, the next requirement was clothing and bedding because the cold season was approaching. Hundreds of thousands of blankets and cotton quilts were dispatched to the East Punjab, Delhi and Kurukshetra. Millions of yards of shirting and drill were supplied. In the East Punjab alone between September 15, 1947, and January 15, 1948, the Ministry of Relief and Rehabilitation sent 2,300,000 yards of various kinds of cloth. Over a million pieces of ready-made garments were distributed. Voluntary relief agencies, whose work will be told later, joined the Government in collecting material from friends across the seas and from all over India for the camps.

### Shelter

Nowhere in known history has the transfer of so many millions taken place in so few days. The partition of India disrupted the normal administrative machinery. Yet, in evacuating and receiving the refugees, there was only praise. However, when it came to providing shelter for these homeless millions, India was faced with post-World War II shortages which made it impossible to provide the quality of accommodation that was desired and often demanded. Discontent arose among the refugees, but nothing more could be done. Those of us who were at work in refugee relief camps saw that the Central Government was not stinting itself in resources, personnel or effort. There just was not wood, cement or steel for construction. Bricks cannot be made out of straw.

The erection of 181,548 tents was not all. Any owner of

an American trailer camp knows that provision had to be made for water, kitchens, latrines, baths, and in addition medical care, playgrounds, schools, craft classes and even plots for vegetable gardens.

### Dispersal

Every relief worker in Tis Hazari and Kingsway, camps in Delhi, Kurukshetra, or any tent camp knew that large concentrations of refugees was not normal. Thus, by the end of November, the dispersal of the refugees started on an organized basis. First, a transit camp was set up where families chosen for dispersal to various states and provinces were accommodated.

But before a vigorous program was launched, it was necessary for the Government of India to decide whether the ultimate objective was repatriation or resettlement. Mahatma Gandhi held the fervent hope that when anger subsided and resentments ceased, the migrants would return to their respective lands and the two new Dominion Governments would protect their minority groups. Pakistan did not hold this opinion and proceeded to resettle the Muslim evacuees at once. India held to her hope for weeks and was consequently accused of slackness in resettlement. However, it became clear that Pakistan was bent on becoming a purely Islamic State to which non-Muslim minorities could not return in peace or honor. With reluctance India abandoned any plan of repatriation and began to disperse the refugee millions on the basis of permanent resettlement and rehabilitation. Because of geographic, linguistic and cultural considerations, East Punjab undertook the rehabilitation of West Punjab refugees. Several native states absorbed agricultural refugees. Those from Sind, Baluchistan, Bahawalpur and Northwest Frontier

Province went to Madras, the Central Provinces, Bihar, Assam and the United Provinces.

### Squatters and Shacks

The Honorable Mr. K. C. Neogy said at this time: "The public at large have grasped the situation only in its bare outline." It was disturbing for the old inhabitants and established businessmen! Thousands of temporary wooden shacks were erected on every street, public park, vacant lot and in the grounds of every public building. Hawkers filled the sidewalks with their wares. Customers entered long-established shops with difficulty. The street hawker paid no rent and undersold the resident merchant who paid the taxes maintaining the refugee. The tens of thousands of homeless squatters and their wooden shacks began to blight every city. The old residents, whose homes were on the "right side," were cool-to-hostile to these aggressive refugees who fouled the streets, filled the sidewalks, littered their green parks and congested the highways. They in turn often demanded excessive black market prices from the refugee for the basic needs of life. Few, indeed, have any idea of the serious proportions or the far-reaching consequences of this exchange of people.

Food habits, recreation, clothing and standards of living have been modified through the contact of old Indian residents with the educated and cosmopolitan Punjab refugees now found in all parts of India. The gay social life of Lahore was proverbial. Who has not heard of Sundays at the Lahore Club! While that is gone, the former Lahoreites now reside in every Indian city and are the nuclei of many social, cultural and recreational groups. Shivpuri was once a very quiet town in Gwalior State until the cultured, educated and progressive Punjab refugees brought a factory to

produce forest products, a cinema and several good restaurants. The Nagpur-Jabalpur bus, which halted at Seoni, was once a weary lunch stop. Today, three Punjabi hotels offer curried mutton and *rogni roti* (hot-baked bread) that is "out of this world."

### Rehabilitation

Five years after independence, the Government of India realized that a major need was the rehabilitation of over four million of the total number of uprooted people. The Honorable Mr. K. C. Neogy stated the position well when he said: "The question of refugee rehabilitation must be dovetailed into a bigger all-India plan of reconstruction." While the bulk of the refugees arriving in India were farmers, over a million were urban residents whose standard of living was much higher than that of the Muslims they replaced in 1947.

These urban refugees constituted a unique problem. They were people of influence, means and culture in the Punjab. Moreover, the existing towns and cities of India were incapable of absorbing this large number even after damaged, abandoned Muslim bungalows were utilized. Consequently, vast numbers remained long under canvas tents awaiting to be absorbed in urban areas and new townships and cities.

The Punjab refugees were a stalwart, proud people, who, in the midst of their misfortune, did not whine or beg. How thankful they were when supplies were distributed in their camp. But I cannot recall any refugee stopping me in five years of work among them and saying: "Brother, give me a dime." They wanted a chance to work and launched out with amazing enterprise into all possible

occupations. The most fearful ride I have had in a *tonga* (horse-drawn cart) was with a Sikh driver who had a difficult time getting the horse started and nearly wrecked us as we galloped through town. I could not get provoked because he smiled so frankly and said, "I do not know how to drive. This is my first day with the horse. Pay me what you want." He could have begged, but he drove a horse! I know I paid twice what I should, but I respected his effort to be self-supporting. There were barbers who had not cut hair; plumbers who ruined threads on pipe; radio experts who knew not a condenser from a coil; bakers who had never baked a loaf—but they learned fast and you were proud of them. It is no wonder then that when Employment Exchanges were opened in Delhi, Simla and Bombay, the Punjabi refugees flocked to register. Within six months 219,826 had been employed through this agency. Training centers were established where spinning, weaving, hosiery production, button making, metal work, gas welding, watch repairing, cabinet making and motor repairing were taught.

### Loans

Many enterprising industrialists and businessmen needed financial assistance to restore their lost business. The Rehabilitation Finance Administration was set up in consultation with the Reserve Bank of India. Loans were made not to exceed Rs 5,000 for traders, merchants and small-scale industries; of Rs 3,000 for lawyers, doctors, dentists, *vaid*s, *hakims* and homeopaths. Rs 500 in such cases as loans to *tonga* drivers, ice cream cart peddlers or a sundry goods cart. Special provision was made for loans of up to Rs 100,000 for workshops, log industries, etc.



### Tent Schools

Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, Honorable Minister for Health, said in a broadcast talk, "Children are the nation's greatest wealth," and set the high standard for the rescue of the children and youth from idleness and despair by enabling refugee students to resume their interrupted studies. Provincial Governments were instructed to afford them all possible educational facilities. The first step was to start evening shifts in addition to regular day classes. In some schools class registers were increased from twenty-five to thirty pupils per teacher to forty-five to fifty. The universities and colleges were especially urged to provide technical and agricultural subjects to prepare the displaced youth for work. Deserving students were exempt from tuition fees and given grants up to Rs 75 each for books and school supplies. Tent schools sprang up in major cities and public libraries and foreign embassy information service libraries were filled with students who could not find sitting room in their study halls!

Relief and rehabilitation of unattached women who had become separated from their family in the mass exodus, or whose father, husband or male relatives had been killed, as well as efforts to recover abducted women were undertaken with beneficial results. A fact-finding branch of the Ministry of Relief and Rehabilitation was established to gather authentic data about atrocities. The Indian Red Cross cooperated in tracing and recovering abducted women. In some instances there was a puzzling situation because the women were happier with their new strong-arm abductee-husbands than with their lonely former spouse. What could you say when the women shouted, "But I don't want to go home!"

## MEETING HUMAN NEED

Group allotment of land in East Punjab is an experiment to watch because it combines farming and village organization on the basis of joint-village management. Land is allotted to all who held land in Pakistan whether as owners or tenants. Land in a specific village is given jointly to a group of refugee families coming from the same area and this policy of reuniting old friends in a strange new land has been very successful. Each family gets a basic ten acres of land to cultivate with additional acreage for children and dependents with the understanding they are responsible for the cultivation of that specific piece of land.

Reviewing the situation, we have seen that the Government of India is now struggling under the burden of rehabilitating seven and one-half million non-Muslims uprooted from their homes in Pakistan. Five million of these came from West Pakistan and two and one-half million came from East Pakistan. At the close of 1952 all but 200,000 of nearly two million farmers had been resettled on land in the Punjab, Pepsu, Rajasthan and a dozen other states. In the cities housing had been provided for 2,250,000. Ten new townships and one hundred fifty suburban extensions have been built. Jobs have been provided 220,000 adults, which includes 1,100,000 dependents. One hundred fifty thousand petty traders and shopkeepers have secured homes.

### Property

Western people have heard much of the Kashmir problem as an issue between India and Pakistan. But there are other very sore spots not equally publicized. Indo-Pakistan relations will not be smooth until the Pakistan government agrees to a satisfactory settlement of property worth ap-

## FREE INDIA: THE FIRST FIVE YEARS

proximately eight billion dollars left by Hindu-Sikh refugees in Pakistan. The Government of India's formula is simple: Let all refugee property in India and Pakistan be evaluated and the country having more should recompense the other by paying the difference. Just that. This proposal has not been accepted by Pakistan.

### Urban Rehabilitation

The non-agricultural refugees from Pakistan can be divided into three classes: wealthy, middle class and workers. Those who chartered private planes and arrived in India with substantial bank balances, jewelry and other assets, took care of themselves. But the middle-class people left their property and tools-of-trade behind in the stampede to leave Pakistan. They did not have the resources to start life on their former standard of living and have had to accept any job. Lastly, there are workers and craftsmen who need employment. The most disruptive fact was that the majority of Hindus and Sikh coming into India were lawyers, doctors, teachers, clerks, businessmen and moneyed landowners; while the exodus of Muslims took blacksmiths, weavers, potters, bakers, barbers, etc., away. This exchange of such divergent occupational classes has created disturbing economic tensions.

### Cottage Industries

Because cottage industry is an intermediary step between land cultivation and urban industrialization, it is being studied and introduced as the backbone of economic activity in resettlement areas. What are the cottage industries which bear promise in the light of available raw materials, existence of technicians, nature of the demand and possible market? (1) Hand spinning and weaving is a basic. The

## MEETING HUMAN NEED

Punjab Branch of the All India Spinner's Association will provide through the Government 100,000 refugee families with *charkhas*<sup>33</sup> and raw cotton at half price. (2) Because Tibetan merchants bring wool to India by way of the Rahtong Pass and the Kulu Valley where it reaches the Gurdaspur market for export, wool spinning and weaving will be expanded. (3) Hosiery centers will be started in Ludhiana and Amritsar. (4) Fruit-gardening and canning offer vast scope for expansion. The mangoes of Ambala, apples and cherries of Kulu and the oranges of the Kangra valley are famous. Canning plants would bring much prosperity. (5) Native cigarettes have a large market in India and tobacco can be successfully grown in the East Punjab. (6) The pre-partition sports goods industry at Sialkot was internationally known. This industry is being re-established with migrants from Sialkot where tennis and badminton rackets, hockey sticks and cricket bats, volley balls and footballs will be manufactured. (7) Toys which came from Japan before the war can be manufactured in the Punjab giving work to women and children. (8) The great brass center for India is Moradabad, U. P., and is a cottage industry. Brass centers could be opened in such places as Jagadhri and the Moradabad standard of workmanship achieved through adequate instruction. (9) Since the leather tanned by village *chamars*<sup>34</sup> is often defective, training of workers in scientific village tanning is projected.

### Muscle Does It

Eighty-five miles north of Delhi on Kim's Grand Trunk Road, a jungle was cleared and a township built by a group of 7,500 refugees from West Pakistan. According to local legend, the jungle was once owned by a man named Nilo, so the new township is known as Nilokheri. Once

swampy and overgrown, it has been tamed by men whose emblem is that of Nataraj, the symbol of cosmic energy, and whose motto is: "Muscle can do it."

When I first drove to Nilokheri, I nearly wrecked my station wagon. It was so revolutionary to see "muscle," "brawn," "sweat" and "toil" glorified in India where the priest and philosopher have set the prized ethos. But it began in the Kurukshetra Refugee Camp between December, 1947, and June, 1948, when men began to yearn for their own land and possessions. Pandit Nehru said in April that he dreamed of the time "thousands of new townships would hum with the music of the muscles as at the Kurukshetra Vocational Training Center," which he was visiting.<sup>35</sup> The Center was transferred to Nilokheri and became the nucleus of the town the Prime Minister visualized. It took a year to clear the land and then the construction of roads, work sheds, offices and dwellings began. By April, 1950, the colony had achieved a comfortable standard of living. Nilokheri stands as a significant achievement because "work" was a foundation. Also, it is a cooperative society based on the democratic principles embodied in India's new Constitution, which, if successful, may make the Nilokheri pioneers leaders in a rehabilitation pattern.

### Relief to Rehabilitation

With the dispersal of people from the camps and the stoppage of the dole, it was necessary to speed up the rehabilitation program. While the figures vary between seven and one half to eight million, it will be seen that India's displaced persons population alone equals the population of Australia, is more than that of Austria, Ceylon or Norway. The entire Jewish population of the

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world exceeds India's refugee population by only one third. Yes, the burden India has carried is tremendous. It is with quiet satisfaction that the voluntary relief agencies of India and the West found ample opportunity to help the Government of India during a critical period.

## CHAPTER IV

### Voluntary Relief Agencies

#### People Responded

WE HAVE SEEN THAT IN THE MONTHS IMMEDIATELY FOLLOWING Independence, August 15, 1947, the uprooting of thirteen and one-half million people, the Great Killing and the death of 500,000 due to wounds or epidemic disease led India to the brink of collapse. Added to this was unprecedented floods, earthquakes, food-shortages and famine. In the midst of these problems occurred the shocking murder of Mahatma Gandhi—the Father of Independence. India and Pakistan were sobered by these events and turned to the rehabilitation of their respective displaced citizens. India survived these ordeals and came through with new unity, power and world respect. Let us trace this survival pattern.

“Governments” cannot do things alone. People must show an interest, assume responsibility and give of their best to the common cause. Such was the case with the voluntary relief and welfare agencies, their professional leaders and loyal lay assistants, who put themselves and their organizations at the disposal of the Provincial Governments and the Ministries of the Central Government.

At the outbreak of disturbances, many private agencies sent volunteers into the refugee camps. There was overlapping and duplication of effort. This situation was remedied by the organization of the United Council for Relief and Welfare (UCRW) in early 1948 with her Excellency, Lady Mountbatten, as the first Chairman.

## VOLUNTARY RELIEF AGENCIES

### Lady Mountbatten Organizes

The UCRW consisted of a medley of private organizations each with a desire to help in the refugee camps. Some were in charge of the administration of entire camps while others had general welfare services, such as conducting recreational classes, providing cinema programs at night or directing the knitting classes. That there was something for all to do, no one denied. In addition to providing voluntary workers in the hospitals and camps, UCRW set up First Aid Posts and stock-piled medical supplies, linen, clothing, milk powder, Multi-Purpose Food, etc., through the generosity of foreign sending agencies.

Her Excellency, the Countess Mountbatten of Burma, called the first meeting of officers and representatives of voluntary agencies at Government House, New Delhi, on September 8, 1947. The Refugee and Famine Relief Committee of the National Christian Council of India, of which Dr. E. D. Lucas was Director, October 11, 1947, to February, 1949, and of which Dr. Donald F. Ebright was Director February, 1949, to April, 1952, was one of the principal organizations which helped set up the UCRW and gave it wholehearted support backed up by a flood of supplies from the United States of America, Canada, Great Britain, New Zealand and Australia. Other active organizations in the UCRW were: the Indian Red Cross Society; the St. John Ambulance Brigade; the All-India Women's Conference; Congress Central Relief Committee and Kasturba workers; the Friends Service Unit; Girl Guide Association; Hindu Sahayata Samiti; National Council of Women; Ramakrishna Mission; the Young Men's Christian Association, Young Women's Christian Association; Boy Scout Association; Hindustan Scouts; Marwari Relief Society; Caravan of



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India; the Rotary Club of India; and the Mennonite Central Relief Committee.

The Council began work at once and as the refugees began pouring over the Indian border in September, relief units, doctors, nurses, sanitary squads, recreational directors and general welfare workers were posted to the teeming camps at Delhi, Amritsar, Jullundur, Kurukshetra, etc.

### Who Helped India?

It would not be practical nor particularly helpful to list the total amount of food, clothing, blankets, hospital equipment and medical supplies, station wagon, etc., the foreign agencies contributed. But millions of dollars in cash, kind, and personnel were sent by: (1) the Red Cross Societies of Britain, United States, Canada, Australia, South Africa, Belgium and France; (2) American Friends Service Committee, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; (3) Church World Service, New York; (4) Cooperative for American Remittance to Europe (CARE); (5) Lutheran World Relief, New York; (6) Mennonite Central Committee, Akron, Pennsylvania; (7) National Catholic Welfare Conference, New York; (8) Meals-for-Million Foundation, San Francisco, California; (9) the New Zealand Council of Organizations for Relief Service Overseas (CORSO), Wellington, New Zealand; (10) the Australian Commission for Inter-Church Aid and Services to Refugees; and (11) the Conference of Missionary Societies in Great Britain and Ireland.

What did they send? Wheat, oats, corn, milk powder, rice, corn oil, raisins, prunes, beans, soybeans, vitamin tablets, egg powder, flour, soap, lima beans, barley, Multi-Purpose Food, Ralston cereal, Kafir meal, blankets, shoes, used clothing, hospital supplies, medicines and general equipment, too numerous to mention.

## VOLUNTARY RELIEF AGENCIES

### Indian Red Cross

Reviewing the work of the UCRW, the activities of the constituting bodies were tremendous and they exerted themselves to the utmost with results worthy of their humanitarian motives. The Indian Red Cross under the leadership of Sardar Balwart Singh Puri answered the call for medical supplies and installations in most of the refugee camps. With its established position, the Red Cross could do much to assist other groups as when the National Christian Council Relief Committee needed rail transport from Bombay to distribution centers. Prime Minister Nehru suggested that the Red Cross assist, which was immediately accepted and for over a year the National Christian Council's vast American-donated relief supplies were transported rail-free through Indian Red Cross sponsorship. The Red Cross Director of Maternity and Child Welfare Bureau met the needs of the women and children at Kurukshetra in particular for it should be remembered that riot-or-no-riot, babies continued to be born at India's fecund rate. The Red Cross effort was strengthened by the St. John's Brigade whose two hundred workers continued until December 1 on duty at Delhi, Amritsar, Jullundur, Kurukshetra, Lahoul and many other camps in the Punjab.

The YWCA Social Service Training School located in Delhi and organized by Miss Luckey rendered valuable service in Kingsway and Purana Qila camps as well as Kurukshetra. "Service above Self" is the motto of Rotary International and the India Rotarians lived up to it through their work of assisting refugees to find employment. The humanitarian work of the Friends Service Unit is global and the story of their work is vast and varied. Boy Scouts of both associations gave excellent services as first-aid vol-

unteers and messengers. The Ramakrishna Mission<sup>36</sup> had been maintaining refugee camps before the UCRW was organized and continued their efforts with increased effectiveness as the disturbances spread.

### Citizens Cook

Typical of the zeal to help the unfortunate came on September 20 when the Ministry of Relief received an urgent appeal for food from reception camps in East Punjab. Ninety thousand refugees were stranded and desperately hungry. The news went out and from all over Delhi came wheat and volunteer workers who made 280 *maunds* (one maund = 80 pounds) of *chappattees* (unleavened wheat cakes). This was flown by two RIAF planes on the twenty-first to the stranded caravans. College students and citizens worked all night to prepare the food, while the military provided transport. It was an inspiring story of community action.

The work of the UCRW organizations included medical and welfare services in 160 camps as well as mobile units to follow the caravans. Services varied from preventive inoculation, the various stages of medical care to the long range needs of occupational and recreational therapy. Thanks to the Army, transportation was provided! Twelve trucks and drivers were provided for the UCRW and other agencies could depend upon the Army to reach into the motor-pool for assistance.

### Film Programs

I was introduced to relief camp activity through the film projection section of the NCC Recreation Committee in January, 1948,<sup>37</sup> and was led into it deeper and deeper until a year later, I was Director of the all-India program. The Government soon recognized that the evenings and

nights were hardest to bear. What could be done? The UCRW suggested that the National Christian Council Relief Committee arrange for film programs in the Delhi camps and then operate in Kurukshetra. Sixteen mm. sound projectors, screens, turntables, microphones, generators and converters<sup>38</sup> were collected and films borrowed from the North India Film Library of the National Christian Council. Recorded music, an hour of films and the All-India Radio 9:00 P.M. news relayed through the public address system, was our night's work, if you remember to include the trip, setting up and taking down equipment with two to ten thousand people getting closer and closer to see it all.

"Mickey Mouse," "Donald Duck," "Our Gang" and the "Careless Charley Health Films" produced by Walt Disney for Latin American use were favorites. Month after month the cinema programs were held and the audiences did not diminish. Utilizing a cloth screen for two-way projection, Kurukshetra crowds of twenty thousand watched the same 16 mm. film show. The Army provided the trucks—every day—on time. How I came to appreciate military discipline and dependability. What did we accomplish? I think this two-hour break from reality was a lifesaver. The refugees forgot their shock experiences and misery for two golden hours of laughter. Yes, they who had been bruised and beaten, were homeless and wounded, could laugh. Here was hope.

#### National Christian Council Relief Work

The National Christian Council of India, hereafter NCC,<sup>39</sup> recognized by Government as representing almost all non-Roman Catholic Churches and Missions has been at work in India for forty years. When the 1947 reign of

terror began, the NCC had no intention of adding a Refugee Relief Committee to its overworked Secretariat. But in the beginning, the massacre was so widespread and the emotions so inflamed, that neither Hindu or Sikh north of Delhi trusted a Muslim and accordingly, no Muslim trusted a Hindu or Sikh. Overnight, things had changed. Trust became distrust. Yesterday's neighbors were today's armed enemies. But there was one neutral group—the Indian Christian Community, twelve million strong—which included foreign and Indian doctors, nurses, teachers and welfare workers who could go and did, from camp to camp, and country to country in safety. Eventually, Muslims worked in Muslim camps and Hindus and Sikhs in their camps. But there was a time when only the Christians could move freely and safely in their impartial relief work. They were welcomed and trusted by all parties in all camps.

### Untold Tale

The dramatic contribution of the NCC Relief workers was made in the initial phase for they were ready and as neutrals, were not involved. They played the same role as the Swiss Red Cross in World War II. Mennonite and Friends Units also had been in India since the Great Bengal Famine of 1943 and were experienced in dealing with mass catastrophe. In the beginning the camps were islands of former neighbors now changed into enemy aliens through the partition of India and the attendant hatred. The former neighbors were not inclined to help or comfort the minority refugees. Where there was an inclination to help, the refugees distrusted the motives and declined aid from members of the opposite community.

But this also led to trouble, for the old residents were

## VOLUNTARY RELIEF AGENCIES

suspicious of neutrals! Actually, it even infested the Christian community because it took many months before Christians in Pakistan appreciated the tremendous work done by Christian workers in India for the Muslims. It was long after that people heard of Mrs. Joshua, a humble Indian Christian doctor of Lahore, who went daily with an attendant for six months to minister to the needs of Hindus in the transit camp in the D.A.V. College. But the Christian teams worked day and night in transit camps whether they were full of Muslims being evacuated to Pakistan or full of Hindu-Sikh occupations en route from Pakistan. This was soon recognized and appreciated.

### Threats

They did not go from camp to camp in complete safety for there were occasional threats. It was difficult and impossible at times in Delhi to get past the Sikhs and help the wounded and dying Muslims in the worst days of rioting. Christian workers, national and foreign, were threatened. A few Christians were turned out of their homes and persecuted. Bishop J. W. Pickett, an American who did valiant work in saving lives in Delhi, was both threatened and fired upon. Dr. E. C. Bhatti, an NCC secretary, received threats to halt the work or be killed. When word reached Mahatma Gandhi that the NCC Relief workers had been threatened, he issued a personal statement condemning the inhuman behavior of fanatics toward Christians and plead with them to continue their impartial relief work. The Government of India issued a press communiqué warning the refugees of any side of severe penalties if Christians doing relief work were threatened. There were no more threats and this word of encouragement from Gandhiji



brought strength to the NCC Relief workers and their numbers grew.

### Informal Beginnings

Like "Topsy" in *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, relief work in India "just grew." You did it because you had to. A caravan was attacked along your road and there was no one else. So, a group in Lahore, Pakistan, began doing what had to be done: care for the wounded. This developed into the Christian Relief Committee of West Pakistan with Dr. J. C. Manry as Chairman and Rev. B. L. Rallia Ram as Director.

Likewise in Delhi, when the streets were covered with the wounded and dying, Bishop J. Waskom Pickett of The Methodist Church gathered volunteer workers who defied threats and worked tirelessly to relieve the suffering. This developed into the Relief Committee of the National Christian Council of India with Dr. E. C. Bhatta as Secretary.

In Ludhiana, a separate committee arose because of the impossibility of communication in East Punjab. After a few weeks as order and communication services were restored, the NCC set up a Central Relief Committee with Dr. R. M. Chet Singh as Chairman. The local committees gradually merged with the Central Relief Committee. The liaison between India and Pakistan was the Director of Relief, Dr. E. D. Lucas, who arrived by air October 17, 1947. He was succeeded by the writer in 1949. Dr. E. W. Wilder, who likewise arrived by air from the United States, October 28, 1947, was Secretary of the Christian Medical Association and coordinated all medical relief work which extended from Delhi to Chariwal, a distance of three hundred miles. It was in this corridor that the convoys converged and the worst casualties occurred.

**Pandit Nehru Welcomes NCC Aid**

The Delhi riots took place while the routine work of the new Government was just getting under way. Dr. E. C. Bhatti, one of the six secretaries of the NCC, had gone to the capital on September 1 to discuss religious liberty clauses for the proposed Constitution with members of the Constituent Assembly.<sup>40</sup> He planned to leave India and go on to Karachi, Pakistan, when Dr. John Matthai, the Honorable Minister of Finance, advised him to remain in India because of the mounting fury of the human massacre which government officials were aware of but had not publicized for security reasons. Prime Minister Nehru was that day in West Punjab and upon his return, Dr. Matthai suggested that Dr. Bhatti offer the resources of the NCC, appeal to the United States for assistance and set up a relief committee to coordinate the local bodies which were springing up wherever the crisis struck. It was increasingly apparent that the resources of the Government were too limited to meet the staggering needs of the millions of uprooted people. The NCC accepted this challenge and without a committee, worker, budget or plan started on a relief operation that would soon include an All-India Committee, American and India workers (at one time over six hundred), considerable funds from Church World Service, New York, and a generous stream of supplies. Dr. Horace Alexander of the Friends Service Unit was also in Delhi to open work in the refugee camps for Muslims. He and Dr. Bhatti discussed a cooperative program and together visited Pandit Nehru who was burdened with grief over what he had just seen in the West Punjab. He quickly accepted the offer and issued orders that all necessary facilities be given by the Government for the establishment

of the NCC Relief organization. It is significant that when these two relief workers made their offer on behalf of the "church," Pandit Nehru asked, "What church?" He was personally pleased to learn that this was an interdenominational and international enterprise for he said his troubled Government could not deal with many denominational relief organizations. The Catholic Church functioned through its Relief and Welfare Committees, but there was always cooperation in relief matters between the Protestant and Catholic Committees.<sup>41</sup>

### Delhi, the Hub

The relief work of the NCC began in Delhi, extended along the caravan routes and went wherever the Government established a camp. Since Delhi was a central collecting point for Muslims fleeing to Pakistan, their camps grew rapidly. Purana Qila had fifty thousand; Humayun's Tomb was packed and refugees from Jaipur and Alwar crowded near the Jama Masjid. Because all communication and transportation had stopped, it was not possible at first to contact Christians scattered across Delhi. Bishop J. W. Pickett and young men and women in his area, with doctors and nurses from nearby St. Stephen's Hospital, began the work. Word spread to the YMCA and YWCA hostels and volunteers arrived daily. With this small band at work, Dr. Bhattu flew back to his office in Nagpur, conferred with his colleagues in the NCC Secretariat and secured authorization to commit the NCC to a vast relief program. Dr. Rajah B. Manikam, Executive Secretary, was attending a conference in Whitby, Canada, and reached India after the main outlines of NCC relief had been worked out by Dr. Murray T. Titus, Dr. E. C. Bhattu and Bishop J. W. Pickett. But when Dr. Manikam arrived, he gave the new operation his

## VOLUNTARY RELIEF AGENCIES

blessing. An appeal for volunteer services of doctors, nurses and welfare workers was sent to all Churches and Missions in India. Within three days they began arriving in Delhi. The Government of India made office and residential rooms available in Constitution House<sup>42</sup> with free rent and free board for sixteen workers per day. These government facilities remained at the disposal of the NCC Relief Committee until April, 1950.

### First American Supplies Arrive

During the first week of relief work, Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, the Minister of Health, counted the stock of essential drugs, medicines and equipment only to discover that they were inadequate to meet the emergency needs of gunshot and sword wounds. Tetanus anti-toxin, penicillin in oil, syringes, needles, bandages, etc., were needed, but not available in India. One of the first acts of the NCC Relief Committee was to cable Church World Service (CWS) through the American Embassy and appeal for medical supplies. An Under-Secretary in the State Department received this cable and was moved to action. His name was Leon H. Henderson, later to be the distinguished Ambassador from the United States to India. He set the wheels in motion which led to purchase, collection, packing and air-transport of India's request list. The following Wednesday, the first plane landed at the Delhi airport with the Honorable Rajkumari Amrit Kaur in person to receive the American medical supplies, which meant life and limb to thousands of pain-wracked refugees in the improvised camp hospitals. This was the first major operation demonstrating that the NCC Relief Committee meant business when it volunteered its services and could through American generosity deliver the goods.

### Panipat Massacre

Incredible things happened. Fifty miles north of Delhi in the little town of Panipat <sup>42a</sup> an influential Sikh patriot kept peace between his community and the Muslims until a Hindu-Sikh armed mob arrived from Pakistan. They had suffered grievously and were slaughtering Muslims until all deaths in their families had been avenged. The freshly notched, blood-soaked swords spoke of their progress. They shouted down their brother and butchered the helpless unarmed Muslims. This great-souled Sikh came to Delhi and personally reported the tragedy to Mahatma Gandhi. His face was tear-stained as he wept, "My people did it. My people did it."

Mahatma Gandhi phoned Rajkumari Amrit Kaur and requested her to send a medical team to Panipat, but she replied that there was not a doctor or nurse who could go. He suggested that they contact the NCC Relief office. Dr. K. C. K. E. Raja, then Deputy Director-General of Health Services, came personally to the Constitution House office. Every doctor and nurse was in a camp-hospital working to the point of physical exhaustion. There was no one to send.

That night on the 9:30 train, an unannounced team of doctors and nurses from Nadiad (near Bombay) arrived and were ready for work. But there were no night trains to Panipat. News of the transport bottle-neck reached Her Excellency, Countess Mountbatten, who sent the Governor General's car for an advance party and a truck for additional workers. Gandhi, too, went to Panipat and was shocked at the condition of the men, women and children.

The villagers showed the relief team to a group of one hundred fifty seriously wounded in a school and the doctors and nurses began their work under kerosene lanterns. When

first aid was completed for this group, the doctor asked, "Are there others?" The head man said, "These are all." The team returned to Delhi for posting to a camp.

Four days later, a badly slashed Muslim reached Delhi and went to Gandhi's quarters. He told Mahatmaji that when the medical team was working in the school on the one hundred fifty cases, they did not know that the hostile villagers had hidden over a thousand wounded. Gandhiji was utterly crushed at this and wept as few had seen him weep. "We were there and my people hid them," he said. "We were there." He lapsed into silence and prayer and did not go out until the following day.

As the records are read today, the score of hate, brutality, courage and compassion is fairly even. Muslims endangered their lives to save Hindus and Sikhs; white Sikhs, such as the Panipat citizen, risked his life to save Muslims and later call medical assistance. Just as we were shocked by the Hindu-Sikh brutality in Delhi, we knew that Muslim brutality was as grim in Pakistan. We tried to keep a neutral spirit.

### Crowds in Old Tombs

Humayun's Tomb and Purana Qila, located on the outskirts of Delhi, became the largest Muslim refugee camps in the congested capital. They were full of Muslims awaiting passage to Pakistan. Here the NCC Relief teams performed a difficult task and at one time two hundred Christian youth worked with devotion and sacrifice. They worked in the spirit of the Good Samaritan, "pouring in oil and wine" as they cared for the newly wounded, sick and maternity cases arriving hourly. It was a day and night job with little food and water in the lantern-lit tomb. Rain seeped through the ancient roofs. But the YWCA, YMCA

and church teams worked in such selfless service that thousands of refugees whom they bandaged, fed and comforted, thanked God for this devotion.

When the crisis was past and the work was confined to well-directed camps, H. E. Countess Mountbatten wrote, "I would like to add that it is hoped that the NCC will continue the valuable work that its social welfare and rehabilitation members are doing at Kurukshetra and in the Delhi camps during the coming months." There was no thought of retrenching and even after the refugee relief problem was in hand, the well-oiled machinery was re-tooled for famine relief.

After the Muslims had been convoyed to West Pakistan, the work in the camps underwent a radical change. Gone were the wounded. The Government provided food and shelter. But quarrels, thefts and beatings increased. It was a problem of morale. The NCC Relief Committee pioneered in *welfare* relief work and soon had a staff of full-time paid workers engaged in adult literacy, cinema programs, industrial work, nursery schools, outdoor games, reading rooms, knitting and sewing classes. Our units were busy in Kingsway Camp; Purana Qila Camp; Humayun Tomb Camp; Safdar Jang Camp; Tis Hazari Camp; Bela Road Camp (all in Delhi); Mehgoan Camp, in the Central Providences; and historic Kurukshetra, fifty miles away.

### Kurukshetra Camp

The Indus and Ganges valleys are separated by the Rajputana Desert and linked by a narrow corridor running between it and the Himalayas. This corridor, following the course of the Jumma River, has been called the cockpit of India, for in this strategic plain, fifty miles from Delhi, the fate of India has been decided on innumerable blood-

drenched occasions. In the epic, *The Mahabharata*, is the great story of the sons of Bharata which includes a mighty eighteen-day battle between the distant tribes of India, fought on the plains of Kurukshetra. As the refugees were settled at Kurukshetra in the largest camp in India, we can appreciate C. Rajagopabachari's comment that "the battle of Kurukshetra is being fought over again." It was a battle against hunger, misery and discontent. The fate of India was again at stake. Let us see it in November, 1947.

For weeks the refugees gathered at this Reception Camp until by November 15, there were 250,000 people under canvas. Each night twenty thousand more arrived and were settled in the seven hundred tents the soldiers had struggled to erect the previous day. It was a relentless contest between man, tents and the ox-cart. They did not stop coming until over 300,000 were encamped. Each night the volunteers received, guided, fed and bedded the new arrivals in one of the "four towns." It was a harassed commandant who heard the daily report: "Twenty thousand more, sir." "Just twenty thousand more!"

In September the camp was run by a small civilian staff which could not possibly cope with the discipline or needs of such numbers. The Government of India consequently took this as their project, requested the army to take over and invited full cooperation from the voluntary relief agencies. The army came and quickly reduced it to order. With the administrative responsibilities in the hands of the military, the voluntary relief workers could devote their full time and resources to welfare work.

When the first relief workers arrived, they found white-washed quarters for fifty lady doctors and nurses and only one bathroom. For six weeks they ate the camp ration of rice, alta, salt and chillies cooked by the mess-cook so "hot"



that it was unacceptable to Indian or European digestive systems. Eventually, K ration and fruit supplements were provided for the doctors, nurses and welfare workers. Life in Kurukshetra was not easy. But none left or grumbled. There was too much to do for 300,000 uprooted people in tents with winter approaching.

### **The Army's Splendid Record**

The Army did a magnificent job. The tent camp was divided into "towns" of fifty thousand each. For every twenty-five thousand people, two dispensaries with twenty-five beds and a child welfare center were set up. The main Kurukshetra Hospital had one hundred forty-five beds and the Woman's Hospital in Patiala House had eighty more. Let it be known that the Indian mother is pure gold. During the month of November at the height of terror, four hundred women were confined at Kurukshetra with only three maternal deaths.

Twelve Army Units were detailed for duty including one field hygiene section that deloused 115,000 people. Anti-malaria, field-ambulance platoons and motor ambulance platoons did much to restore peace and order. The 106 wells were treated with bleaching power every alternate day. Food ration depots, clothing stores and a post office all arose out of the confusion and operated smoothly under the Army. Roads were constructed and water lines laid. You had to see it to believe it: the chaotic arrival and the smooth military touch.

### **The NCC at Kurukshetra**

We had in this camp at various periods 225 men and women volunteers. Professors and students volunteered their summer vacations. Missions, schools and churches loaned

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personnel who worked closely with the Army. Three of our group were made commandants, one, the recreational officer and another, the welfare officer. Twenty-five of our group served in the surgical and maternity wards. The majority of our group were in the Social Welfare Unit, for while few were trained to operate in a surgical theater, many could teach, coach or distribute wool!

That this was the finest refugee camp is due to the ample resources provided by the Government, the efficient administration of the Indian Army and the wise utilization of "men and money" from many voluntary relief agencies. How well we remember the milk distribution by the Ramakrishna Mission; the "registrars" sent by the Tata School of Social Service, Bombay; the Kurukshetra Youth Service Corps they organized; the recreational and sewing classes, nursery projects and evening entertainments provided by many groups. The compassionate hand of the Indian Red Cross was always present.

While none of the workers went to Kurukshetra for credit or glory, every one of the groups was pleased when their useful service was appreciated by the United Council for Relief and Welfare and the Government. Letters of commendation came to the NCC Relief Committee from Brig. Mohile of Kurukshetra and from the Director General of Health Services. Members of the Constituent Assembly expressed their appreciation of the work of the NCC after their visit. By their cooperation with the Government in impartial relief work, the NCC Relief team demonstrated the unique position of the Christian community in a population of 360 million and evidenced that they could be a healing bridge when for the moment, the nation was divided into two great camps. The Friends Service Unit, Mennonite Relief teams and the NCC alone could go from

camp to camp, community to community and cross geographical and political barriers. The blue cross on the windshield of an NCC Relief vehicle was a passport to enter any camp.

### Medical Contribution to the Refugee Relief Program

The major contributions of the voluntary agencies in refugee relief work will never be known outside the groups which participated in it. It all began in the hospitals of India and Pakistan as victims were brought from disturbed areas to the Christian hospitals as a matter of routine.<sup>43</sup> When the Muslims attacked the Sikhs in the Golden Temple city of Amritsar, March, 1947, the wounded were naturally taken to St. Catherine's Hospital of the CEZMS. As the atrocities mounted, the staff of St. Catherine's went out to work among the refugees. In August trouble engulfed Palwal and Bhivani where the Baptist Mission Hospital staffs were drawn into local relief ministration. American Presbyterian Hospitals at Ferozipur and Ambala were increasingly engulfed with patients. The Salvation Army Hospital at Dhariwal; the Reformed Presbyterian Hospital at Montgomery; the U. P. Hospitals at Sargodha, Sialkot and Taxilla; the Scotch Mission Hospitals at Gujrat and Jalalpur-Jattan; and C. M. S. Hospitals in Peshawar and Srinagar opened their doors to riot victims. When these localized riots burst into mass killing, the hospitals were caught already full of wounded and the sufferers from infectious disease. The hospital staffs numbering around six hundred worked night and day. Unsurpassed feats of endurance were performed as operating rooms worked round the clock caring for victims of attack on camp, convoy or unprotected caravan. The strain was great and Dr. Pollock of Ludhina gave her life.

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Doctors and nurses were supplemented by volunteers, two thirds of whom were Nationals. In reply to letters and wires, the workers came from far-off Travancore, Mysore, Bengal, Bombay and Hyderabad. Some worked one month, others up to three, while some units gave their services for six months. The Mennonite Relief Unit and Friends Service Unit were already in India for general relief and worked on both sides of the border in cooperation with Christian Relief Committees of both nations. For example, the clothes supplied by Church World Service, New York, to the NCC Relief Committee were distributed in Kasmir by the Mennonite Relief Unit because they were there and prepared.

### Mobile Units

As volunteers increased, it was possible in October to outfit two mobile units for preventive medicine in West Punjab camps. These jeep-trailer outfits spent three to seven days in a camp purifying drinking water, plowing up fields used as latrines, directing the construction of bore-hole latrines, spraying with DDT and giving cholera inoculations. When the rush was on with 400,000 Muslim refugees around Ambala, in East Punjab alone there were five mobile units from the Christian Relief Committee of Pakistan who had come into India to help.

It was with the organized caravans that the mobile medical units did their best work. The epidemiological and preventive work of two mobile units doubtless resulted in saving thousands of lives. They cruised up and down the slow moving columns of two hundred fifty carts per mile stretching on an average of ten miles, attending to those who fell by the wayside of dysentery and cholera, assisting with babies born on the march, taking stragglers to the advance camp for the military to arrange transportation

and ever alert for attack from members of the opposite community. After each attack, there was first aid and then the long haul of the wounded to the nearest hospital.

### Church World Service

But for the volume of supplies and generous funds received from Church World Service, New York, it would have been impossible to do the job.<sup>44</sup> Church World Service (CWS) is the functional department of the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A., through which member and related churches serve the suffering of the world through relief, rehabilitation and reconstruction programs.<sup>45</sup> CWS operates overseas in relation to established Protestant and Eastern Orthodox agencies in each area on the basis of need and without regard to race or creed.

In India the major CWS effort has been to provide supplementary food, clothing and medical supplies to famine, flood and refugee areas. During 1951 when the monsoon rains failed for the fourth consecutive year, CWS shipped a million and a half pounds of foodstuff for distribution outside the ration system by the NCC Relief Committee.

Appeals to American farmers to donate in kind is made through the Christian Rural Overseas Program (CROP), which until February, 1952, was the joint enterprise of Lutheran World Relief, Catholic Rural Life for War Relief Services and Church World Service. CROP collected foodstuffs; CWS shipped it to India; and our NCC Relief Committee distributed through organized local committees.

All quests for personnel, vehicles, medical supplies, food, hospital equipment, etc., were met by CWS as promptly as purchase and shipping circumstances permitted. While the bulk of CWS supplies was administered directly, a

portion of each shipment was presented to one of the great leaders of India, Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, the Honorable Minister for Health, who used this in the camps and hospitals under her direct supervision. Large quantities of powdered milk, blankets and clothing were also sent to Kashmir and Assam.

Ambassador Chester Bowles has written directly to CWS: "Government to government programs have their value, and are a necessity. However, a program such as yours which makes possible the direct contact between human beings of our two countries goes far in making Indians feel the reality of the warmth and friendliness which thousands of Americans feel for them and their country." <sup>46</sup>

### Meals for Millions

Put down your hotel dinner menu and stare when I report on a health-giving, body-building, appetizing three-cent meal. . . . Multi-Purpose Food <sup>47</sup> . . . that was a God-send for relief workers in India. Three cents will buy a "meal" of Multi-Purpose Food (MPF) which contains nutrients in recommended amounts of protein, minerals and Vitamins (except C) comparable to those in a meal consisting of one-fourth pound of beef, a baked potato, dish of peas and a glass of milk. It is no wonder that the Meals-for-Millions Foundation sent eighteen million "meals" to eighty-four countries through 126 agencies including Church World Service, Lutheran World Relief, American Friends Service Committee and the Methodist Committee for Overseas Relief with a major portion labeled "for India."

MPF was developed in 1944 by Dr. Henry Borsook, Professor of Bio-Chemistry at the California Institute of Technology. His research was financed by Mr. Clifford E. Clifton, Los Angeles restaurateur, who founded the "Clifton's"

Cafeteria in Los Angeles, the famed "Cafeteria of the Golden Rule." Mr. Clifton incorporated the non-profit Meals-for-Millions Foundation which since 1946 has made MPF available as a "three-cent meal" to relief and welfare agencies all over the world. The majority of these are religious agencies.

Multi-Purpose Food provides a high quality—somewhere between the animal and cereal proteins in biologic value—pulse (legume) protein that will keep indefinitely in any climate without refrigeration. It violates no Hindu or Muslim religious principle. The protein, and other nutrient elements, are provided by expeller-processed press-cake of the soybean—a by-product of soy oil production, available in abundance and at present little used for human food. The soy cake is reduced to the consistency of corn meal and then fortified with minerals and vitamins. One formula (A) includes seasoning with spices. Another (B) is unseasoned. A third (C), also unseasoned, replaces 25 percent of the soya with dry milk solids, was especially suitable for infants and hospital patients.

Two ounces of dry MPF provides 200 calories and contains one third of the recommended daily allowance of the Food and Nutrition Board of the National Research Council, for protein, calcium, iron, vitamins A, B<sub>1</sub>, riboflavin (B<sub>2</sub>), niacinamide. Two ounces of the food also provides one third of the minimum daily requirements for an adult as established by the U.S. Food and Drug Administration for iodine and Vitamin D. It does not contain Vitamin C—unstable in cooked foods.

Soy protein is probably the most complete of the vegetable proteins. It contains the ten essential amines.

Multi-Purpose Food also has the advantage of being pre-cooked. The expeller-process of production consists of press-

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ing the soybean in a steam-jacketed pipe at 250 to 275 degrees (F) temperature for 30-40 minutes. This reduces the time required for cooking to about ten minutes—a factor of convenience as well as fuel economy—when one considers its use in refugee camps and famine areas.

We rejoiced at the large shipment of MPF and discovered that while it was unpopular eaten straight, it could be added to any soup, curry, stew, goulash, dough or batter—and made the batter better! Thank you, Florence Rose, for the lives you saved in India through MP Food.



## CHAPTER V

### Distinguished Leadership

#### These Were the Men

THE RELIEF ENTERPRISE, CONSISTING OF COLLECTION IN THE Western donor nations, clearance at Indian ports, remission of import customs duty, securing of inland freight facilities and distribution in various provinces would not have been possible without the fullest cooperation from men and women related to the Government of India. There was first of all the United Council for Relief and Welfare with Her Excellency Countess Mountbatten as Chairman. Then, office quarters, residential rooms and boarding facilities were provided in Constitution House where members of the Constituent Assembly were framing India's new Constitution. Free rail transport was provided for relief supplies by the Indian Red Cross for one year. We owe a great debt of gratitude to the Government of India and the "selfless men of broad vision and iron will" who were in positions of responsibility. These were the people who made the decisions, to whom we wrote and went for assistance. They were the people who "chaired" the meetings and with whom we made appointments for American visitors. The privilege of meeting them, being in their homes and watching them at work was a high honor for they were "sun-crowned men." I mention only those whom we met in the relief enterprise.

#### Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi

Though he held no office, he held India in his hand. As the relief workers in the 1947 riots went from camp to

camp, Gandhi's influence was impressive. His was an influence that changed men's lives—great and powerful men and ordinary peasants. I saw that the leaders in the new Government were men and women whose lives had been touched by Gandhi. It is ironical that Mr. Jinnah, the irreligious modern, would establish an Islamic state, while Mr. Gandhi, a deeply religious man, founded a secular state. Gandhi gave his life for a dream and a portion of his varied life mingled with our refugee relief work.

While Mr. Jinnah expounded his "two-nation" theory that eventually led to the partition of India, riots and refugees, Mr. Gandhi equally opposed it. Gandhiji wrote: "I can find no parallel in history of a body of converts and their descendants claiming to be a nation apart from the parent stock."<sup>48</sup> His dream was for a united free India. When the "Pakistan issue" became a fact, Mahatma Gandhi crusaded for a part of his dream: amicable Hindu-Muslim relations.

Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi was born October 2, 1869, in the small Indian State of Porbandar of the *vaisya* or trading caste. We need not trace his education in England, law practice in Bombay, work in South Africa or long campaign against foreign rule. Many books are available.<sup>49</sup> But because of his leadership without office in the riot-torn Delhi days, there are aspects of his life we should consider.

Gandhi's philosophy is essentially religious and does not lend itself to brevity. He took raw materials from religion and fashioned a political lever. One of his basic doctrines was *satyagraha* or "non-resistance to force" adapted in part from St. Matthew's<sup>50</sup> record of Christ's exhortation "that ye resist not evil." He transformed the early national movement of a few intellectuals into a mass movement in which

the silent millions played an exciting role. He was a holy man, a mystic, knew the power and reality of prayer and could influence the learned as well as the simple. Whenever there was a choice, Gandhi stood on the side of mercy. His compassion for the suffering, the downtrodden and the homeless was vividly demonstrated during the terrible days when millions were uprooted and homeless.

Gandhi took a personal interest in the camps which he visited for the purpose of restoring confidence among the bewildered refugees. He was impressed by the impartial role of the Indian Christian volunteers who worked on a supra-communal basis. Yet, he was often weary and frequently perplexed. He said one evening: "There was a time when India listened to me. Today I am a back number. I have no place in the new order where they want an army, a navy and an air force and what not." <sup>51</sup>

Nehru's loyalty to Gandhi, whom he called *Bapu* (meaning father), was unchanging. Once, after Gandhi had been arrested, Nehru, answering a charge in a court of law, said: "Jail has, indeed, become a heaven for us, a holy place of pilgrimage, since our saintly and beloved leader (Gandhi) was sentenced. One feels almost lonely outside the jail and selfishness prompts a quick return."

The partition of India and the Great Killing broke Gandhi's heart. I recalled the time when he wept when London was bombed, yet planned rebellion against British rule. Surrounded by communal <sup>52</sup> frenzy, he worked for his dream. Almost singlehanded he prevented a holocaust in Calcutta similar to that of Delhi. His pursuit of the dream for mutual respect between Hindus and Muslims enraged a section of the orthodox Hindu community who plotted to kill him. On January 13, 1948, Gandhi started his last fast to induce leaders to renounce revenge and work for

minority security in secular India. On January 30th, he was walking to his prayer meeting in the Birla House compound when he was shot four times by a Hindu youth and died for his dream.

After Mahatma Gandhi's assassination, Nehru said in Parliament: "A glory has departed and the sun that warmed and brightened our lives has set and we shiver in the cold and dark."

### Dr. Rajendra Prasad

Dr. Rajendra Prasad, the first elected President of the Republic of India, met his guests with an engaging charm and warmth. The twinkle in his eye was contagious. Burdened as he was by the problems of his Nation he was never too busy to meet American visitors who were touring India in the interest of relief. This is not strange because the President won national acclaim in the early thirties through his services in raising funds and rendering relief in the Bihar earthquake. Voluntary relief agents in India had an understanding friend in the person of Dr. Prasad.

His early career was distinguished and his rise in the bar was rapid. His contact with Congress dated back to 1905 when he went to Calcutta as a volunteer. But his 1917 meeting with Mahatma Gandhi, who had gone to Bihar on the invitation of peasants to inquire into the oppression of indigo planters, was the turning point in his life. He left the bar, joined Gandhiji, established the Sadaqat Ashram near Patna which became a rallying point for all Bihar fighters for freedom.

Simple in his habits and pious, Dr. Prasad who is now 68 is a vegetarian, teetotaler and non-smoker. In the palatial British-built residence in which he lives, his simplicity

extends to his dress and diet. He has not abandoned the *charkha* and regularly spins. Dr. Rajendra Prasad played a prominent part in the negotiations with the Cabinet Mission and was in charge of the Food portfolio during the Interim Government. It is no wonder he was the unanimous choice as the President of the Constituent Assembly and became the President of the Indian Republic on January 26, 1950.<sup>53</sup>

The day I took Dr. Franklin Fry and Mr. A. Crews, who were on a thirty-day global tour gathering material for Church World Service's radio and television "One Great Hour of Sharing" program, to visit the President, he was deeply concerned by the months of American congressional debate over the wheat loan bill. "Can you not go before your Congress and report what you have seen?" he said to Dr. Fry. "We need food and need it desperately."

The conversation turned to Mahatma Gandhi and knowing the deep bond which had united them since 1917, I asked, "What was Gandhi's greatest gift to India?" Dr. Prasad reminded us that Gandhiji was different things to different men. The Outcastes, whom he called "*Harijans*" (children of God), called Gandhi "Father." The devout Hindu would say he was a saint. But said Dr. Prasad, "Gandhiji gave our national life a moral basis. Today our speeches are full of moral reasoning. Even the Prime Minister, Mr. Nehru, questioned this until the days of the riots Gandhiji walked alone into mob-torn cities and singlehanded restored order and then he was deeply touched. Hence, Gandhi is more than a saint or one who died in the Hindu-Muslim riots, for he gave India a national morality."

Dr. Prasad led our party of six to the lovely formal garden adjoining his office where we reveled in the beauty of flower and shrub, for it was January, the cold season, cold

enough for grass and flowers. As the Government House photographer took pictures, Dr. Fry's autograph book was produced and he said, "General McArthur, Syngman Rhee, and the third page is reserved for you, Dr. Prasad." The President smiled, assented and signed his name.

### Tip from the Prime Minister

It was during a lull in the shift from refugee to famine relief that our committee encountered transport difficulties. If we were compelled to pay inland freight from the port of entry to the distribution centers, there would be less funds to buy food. Prime Minister Nehru was Chairman of a meeting of the United Council for Relief and Welfare in Government House, New Delhi, when our problem was presented. Without hesitation he said in his low, flawless, British accent, "I rather think the Red Cross can help you." And they did wonderfully all year.

I never tired of watching Nehru's face as he chaired meetings or was the speaker or honored guest. He has a sensitive and very responsive face. Pandit Nehru can be and generally is a quiet and shy man. But his face lights up with a wide, wide smile, when he smiles. He can blow up and express himself in downright indignation, urbane directness or Anglo-Saxon bluntness. I have seen him vault from a platform to rebuke an unruly crowd and then climb back and in minutes be his philosophical, intellectual self. When a soft drink promoter handed Mr. Nehru a bottle of "soda" and the alerted photographer got his publicity picture, I have never seen anyone react quicker or return a gift faster. His language would have tickled the editor of a college humor magazine. All this impressed me for it brought out the human Nehru. Gandhiji was too much the other worldly saint, yet there was need for and

room for one. But two in New Delhi? I was personally delighted that a man so handsome and urbane, who could write as brilliantly, lead a nation so surely, talk so impressively was possessed of basic human traits and could upon occasion "blow his top."

Prime Minister Nehru was 59 years young when I first saw him at a relief meeting and was 63 when I last heard him speak in Lucknow. He still exhibits an energy and appetite for work that puts many men of fewer chronological years to shame. I think he will be called "a dynamic young leader of India" until he dies.

Born in a wealthy, cultured and aristocratic home in Allahabad on November 14, 1889, he was heir to all worldly comfort money could buy. But the call of freedom was too compelling and he entered the dangerous arena of politics when he was thirty. Before he was to become Prime Minister of free India, he spent fourteen years, nine times in and out of British prisons. These experiences did not embitter him. He grew under persecution, wrote great books and dreamed great dreams.

A minor incident proved to be a great factor in Nehru's life. In May, 1920, he was staying at the Savoy Hotel in Mussoorie (a summer resort in the United Provinces) with his wife and daughter. An Afghan delegation which had come to negotiate with the Government of India was also staying there. On the second day of his stay, Nehru received a Government order asking him not to associate with the Afghans. Nehru had not met them, nor did he have any intention of meeting them; he did not even know that they were staying there. But he could not put up with the prohibitory order, and informed the Government of his decision. As a result, he was ordered to leave Mussoorie. Nehru says: "I have sometimes wondered what would have

happened if I had not been externed." He took this opportunity of touring the countryside in his province and kindling a new light in the hearts of the people as he traveled from village to village.

Nothing obscures his passion to root out injustice by the severest methods. Speaking of hoarders and black marketeers, partly through whose operations thousands of people suffered during India's years of conflict, Nehru said: "I will not willingly kill the meanest creature, but it would give me the greatest pleasure if all the black marketeers were hung by the neck till they were dead!"

Mahatma Gandhi had the greatest admiration for Nehru, whom he publicly announced as his heir to power and leadership. Gandhi said: "In bravery Nehru is not to be surpassed. Who can excel him in the love of country? He is rash and impetuous, say some. This quality is an additional qualification at the present moment. And if he has the dash and rashness of the warrior, he has also the prudence of a statesman." How true this was as he held steady during India's unprecedented disorders of 1947-48.

### Rajkumari Amrit Kaur

The rows of beds in the overcrowded ward were full of badly wounded and desperately weary refugees. There was no privacy, few nurses, inadequate facilities, confusion, flies and stench. Down the narrow aisle walked two of the most gracious women I have ever seen—talking, advising, touching fevered bodies, bandaging, bathing—with no menial task below them. Their presence transformed that ward. No one who saw the Honorable Minister for Health, Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, and Her Excellency Lady Mountbatten, the Vicereine of India from March to Au-



gust, 1947, in their practical work among the wounded refugees in the Delhi camps will forget their devotion, courage or tireless effort.

They had much in common. Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, Minister for Health since 1947, the only daughter of that great Prince of the Christian community, Rajah Sir Harnam Singh, born in Kapurthala Palace in Lucknow, U. P., could meet the nobility from Great Britain on terms of gracious equality. But, furthermore, she was educated at Sherborne School for Girls in Dorsetshire and London where she was touched by the same humanitarian currents which turned Lady Mountbatten toward many social service projects in Great Britain.

Trained professionally as a social service worker, Rajkumari Amrit Kaur left a promising career to become secretary for Mahatma Gandhi and for sixteen years held this central position. A formal biography will list the responsible positions, deputations and missions the Minister for Health has headed, but when horror burst over North India and Delhi, the task of providing medical relief and hospitalization fell to this gentle lady of quiet disposition. Those who saw only the weight of the burden, the demands of office or the depressing stream of sick and wounded, did not reckon with the spirit of Rajkumari Amrit Kaur. Deeply religious, she had vast resources of spiritual power which enabled her to bend beneath the storm and rise to the increasing demands of a Health Ministry for free India.

It was in the Ministry for Health that our first contacts were made, for in the initial stages of riot relief, care of the sick and wounded preceded the supply of food. In fact, our first cables to the U.S.A. were for needles, bandages and medicine. After the first crisis was over, the NCC stock-piled medicines, blankets, hospital supplies and food in

the Medical Supply Department under the Ministry of Health and channeled much of our supplies through Rajkumariji's Government of India institutions.

### **The Deputy Prime Minister**

While refugee and famine relief work did not bring us into immediate contact with the late Sardar Vallabhbhai Javerbhai Patel, Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Home Affairs and States, he was one of the great men of free India close to Gandhiji who shaped the stage on which we worked. Here again is the story of a brilliant lad, born October 31, 1875, whose life was changed by the touch of Gandhi. He was associated with Gandhi when he established his Satyagraha Ashram in Ahmadabad in 1916 and from then onward was a power in the Indian National Congress. He, too, was imprisoned for his freedom beliefs. During the worst of the September, 1947, riots, Sardar Patel spoke, wrote and worked for peace among all communities. He was bold as a lion in dealing with communal frenzy and appealed for a spirit of forgiveness. His powerful appeals to "cease revenge" hastened the return of order to Delhi, thus facilitating refugee relief work.

### **"From Ship to Mouth"**

There was no one quite like the Honorable Shri Kanialal Manekhal Munshi, B.A., LL.B., D.Litt., M.P., and Minister for Food in the Government of India during the worst of the "famine years," 1950-52. It was to the Ministry of Food we turned most frequently and found in Shri Munshi a capable, brilliant, versatile and distinguished friend. When Congress enemies claimed that the hunger in India was "Munshi-made," he boldly stated over all-India radio: "No one shall starve." No one did. When Madras

presidency food reserves were frightfully low, he coined a phrase to echo around the world: "We are living from ship to mouth." The ships arrived.

Born December 29, 1877, and educated at Baroda College, he was an advocate in the Bombay High Court in 1913. With an early literary style that sparkled with contemporary wit, yet drew upon the ancient books, he was Joint Editor of "Young India" in 1915; Secretary of the Bombay Home Rule League in 1920 and edited *Gugarat* from 1922-1931.

He, too, met Gandhi and was sentenced to six months imprisonment for the Bombay Salt Satyagraha in April, 1930. From that day until August 15, 1947, he too was a patriot of patriots, working with the Indian National Congress, spending years in prison for civil disobedience and concurrently holding significant positions. Perhaps one reason that his interest in our NCC relief work went deeper than just providing food was because Mr. Munshi had long been associated with social welfare projects. He knows the problems of delinquency, hunger and social dislocation. He was Vice-President of Children's Aid Society, Bombay, 1937-41, and edited *Social Welfare*, 1940-46. He was a member of the Constituent Assembly, the Drafting Committee and Parliament, which gave us many opportunities to see Dr. Munshi in action in historic Constitution House where our relief office and residence quarters were located. This was a splendid introduction to Dr. Munshi as the Honorable Minister of Food.

While he recognized the need of "food for India" to feed the hungry millions, he never let it be forgotten that buying food with precious foreign credit or receiving relief supplies was a painful necessity. "India must become self-sufficient in food" was his warning.

I admired Dr. Munshi because he accepted food from foreign sources and at the same time worked so tirelessly to boost food production. He was no "one-crop" man, "more wheat" or "more rice," but was at work all along the line: citrus fruit, inland fisheries, hydro-culture, hybrids, crop rotation, etc. With the assistance of his charming wife, a non-rationed food cafeteria was opened in New Delhi where cheap yet nutritious meals were prepared and sold at low controlled prices. Who will forget the "Munshi inspired sweet-potato peanut-sauce souffle"? Of such bold spirits come progress.

### The Armed Forces

In the task of evacuating the refugees from Pakistan to India, the Indian Army and the Royal Indian Air Force must be cited for doing a splendid job. Many distinguished leaders were in their ranks. On September 1, 1947, the Indian army took over the duties of evacuating non-Muslims from Pakistan and their Military Evacuation Organization (MEO) collected refugees, arranged camps, transported food and medical supplies and provided military escort for the column. When floods in October added to the misery, the 101st Railway Construction Company of Queen Victoria's own Sappers and Miners from Bangalore supplied crews to run refugee trains, repair breaches and maintain track safety. The Indian army also provided medical aid. The NCC relief teams owe much to the valued assistance of the Armed Forces.

### And Foreigners Too

A complete record of foreigners who contributed to the relief enterprise would include: (1) Dr. E. D. Lucas, who flew to India in October, 1947, to be the first NCC Relief

Director; (2) Dr. E. W. Wilder, who arrived by air in November, 1947, to head up the medical refugee relief work; (3) Bishop J. W. Pickett, Delhi Episcopal Area of The Methodist Church, who did more than any one non-government person to organize voluntary relief in Delhi; (4) Dr. Murray T. Titus, senior secretary of the NCC, Nagpur, at the time the Delhi riots broke when the Executive Secretary, Dr. Rajah Manikam, was on business in Canada; (5) the two American Ambassadors to India, Mr. Loy Henderson and Mr. Chester Bowles, both offering every possible facility to our relief work; (6) Miss Evelyn Hersey, Social Welfare attaché, American Embassy, India, who shared generously her professional secrets with eager amateurs; (7) Mrs. Helen Scott Saulsbury, a dynamic Texan, who did much to implement the Indo-American Relief Agreement in 1951; (8) Mrs. G. J. Watumull and the Watumull Foundation; and (9) Miss Florence Rose, Executive Secretary of the Meals-for-Millions Foundation.<sup>54</sup>

## CHAPTER VI

### From Refugee to Famine Relief (1950)

#### No Time to Rest

EACH YEAR, 1948 TO 1952, WE THOUGHT WOULD BE THE LAST for the NCC Refugee Relief Committee. But as this problem, which once threatened to upset the security and economy of the country, was brought under control by the Government, the scarcity of food, which began in 1942, reached grave proportions. Next to the refugees, the shortage of food tried the Union of India more sorely than any other problem. The Indian position was "no one shall starve." The Government, therefore, was compelled to import food as far back as 1943 and each succeeding year, thus draining her of valuable foreign exchange. Last year she imported five million tons of food grains at a cost of \$500,000,000. Money earmarked for roads, schools, hospitals and cultural institutions was thus used to buy foreign food grain.

It was only natural that, as Director of Relief, I favored the continuation of the "reception from America" and "distribution in India" machinery to provide food for India's hungry millions. Hence, our new letterhead read: "Refugee and Famine Relief Committee." Rather than abating, our voluntary relief shipments increased until that historic day, July 5, 1951, when Mrs. Pandit, on behalf of the Government of India and Dean Acheson on behalf of the United States, signed the Indo-American Relief Agreement; and then the supplies poured into India.<sup>55</sup> The trickle of food became a flood when between April 1 and

June 30, 1952, one hundred twenty-seven shipments valued at \$412,000 were cleared and distributed.

"Why was there a food shortage?" "Why hasn't India done something for herself?" "Is this foreign aid necessary?" In order to answer your questions, we must consider the causes for the food shortage, the efforts to become self-sufficient and the basic issue at stake. India must have four hundred million acres of farm land and she has one hundred ninety-eight millions. She requires fifty-one million tons of food a year and produces forty-five million. If India fails, democracy fails and communism will take over in Asia. That is the basic issue.

### Famine Over India

India has always lived with famine just around the corner. The fact is that 90 percent of India's 360 million live in some 700,000 villages and are related in one way or the other to the soil. The British came to India two hundred years ago and found seventy million people. When they left in 1947, there were 360 million. The population once held in check by disease and internal warfare, increases,<sup>56</sup> but the farmer continues to use ancient tools and pre-modern agricultural methods. That is why 750 pounds of rice per acre are produced in India compared to 1,400 pounds in the United States, 1,550 in China and 3,000 in Japan. India's wheat average is ten bushels per acre compared to Denmark's fifty.

On an average farm the peasant produces only 30 percent more than is consumed by his family, thus leaving a small surplus to sell. This results in a scarcity of food grain for the urban areas and little purchasing power for the farmer. Also, his land is not in one bloc, but has become fragmented through inheritance, making mechanized farming

difficult. Bullock and plow must be small enough for the tiny fields. Little fertilizer is used and the land is chemically exhausted. These factors add up to the truth that up to now India has supported her population at a bare subsistence level. The margin between "normal times" and "famine" is razor thin. This, too, has retarded the economic development of the democratic, self-contained villages. Eighty-five percent of the villagers are illiterate; few have traveled far; there is neither electricity nor running water; animals are housed in the courtyard; cow-dung cakes dry on the walls; and fields are used for latrines, as did our early American pioneers in the Frontier States; for they, too, cooked with the buffalo chip. Agriculturally speaking, India is now about where Kansas was in 1852. But if she modernizes her agriculture, she will need two possessions of the Kansas pioneer: working capital and technical skill.<sup>57</sup>

### A Staggering Problem

When Dr. Norris E. Dodd, Director-General of the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), said on March 31, 1952, that India's plans for increasing food production would show "good results" within a reasonable time, he was aware of the enormity of the project.<sup>58</sup> India began her war against hunger with her granaries empty. She had to remove the causes, increase production and create distributive machinery sufficient to reach all classes irrespective of caste, race or creed. This is better understood if we break the process down into three phases: (1) saving India from immediate panic and famine; (2) winning freedom from foreign aid; and (3) instituting long-range agricultural development schemes.<sup>59</sup>



### India Calls in Help

The Government invited Lord Boyd Orr (British) to visit India in 1949 and suggest a comprehensive food production scheme. He made a survey and recommended that an emergency executive organization be set up at all levels from the center at New Delhi down to the last village. His advice was to cease being nonchalant and declare a national food emergency. This was a much needed note because official pride in certain offices had denied hunger and decried famine. Witness the 1943-1947 debacle of the "Grow More Food Campaign." Up to 1947 the GMFC rightly deserves its odious name for it was only an indifferent "paper campaign" costing hundreds of thousands of rupees, but did not produce hundreds of thousands of bushels of grain. However, the 1947-1952 "Grow More Food Campaign" was of a different nature and under Shri K. M. Munshi's dynamic leadership began to bring grain into empty warehouses.

### Not Officially "Famine"

Officially India is not suffering from "Famine," but is only a "scarcity area." Were the Government to declare that a "Famine" existed, the old "Government Famine Code" would come into effect and call for "remission of debts," "free food distribution" and "large-scale relief projects." With the strained Indo-Pakistan relations, the unresolved Kashmir question, seven and one-half million refugees to relocate and rehabilitate and a large defense department, the young Republic of India has weighty budgetary drains and must consider the "food-famine" situation in terms of her total obligations. India could not financially afford to declare a "Famine" until there were

corpses—many corpses—in the streets. But that did not happen. So, unofficially, we will speak of a famine area, recognizing that there is a difference between a "Famine" and a famine.

### Communist Propaganda

Of all the hunger areas, the state of Madras was worst hit and there we had our largest relief organization. In this hunger belt where fifty-six million people live, the fifth failure of the "monsoon rains" in as many years has created grave agricultural dislocation. The grain ration was cut from twelve ounces per day to nine. It was in this same area that the communists have made their 1951 election gains. What lies they told. In Chittoor they went from house to house and listed the head of the family, saying that when their party was put into power, they would provide him with a two-room dwelling. As American grain was unloaded in Madras, the communists painted "From the U.S.S.R." on the sides of the freight cars. As the train rattled across the parched land, what could the villager do but believe what he read: "From the U.S.S.R." I spent many months between 1949 and 1952 in South India, far from my home in North India, and know what it is to work among hunger-stricken villages. The morale of Ohio and Texas farmers would be broken after five rainless and harvestless years. Food from (1) the Government and (2) voluntary relief agencies kept the razor-thin line between hunger and death. There were no corpses on the road, but one hundred million people went to bed hungry every night.

### Madras Famine-Belt Tour

The merciless sun beat down as the aged Ford came to an abrupt stop with clouds of dry ferruginous dust swirling

over us. "Flat tire," said our undismayed Swedish driver, and then by way of encouragement, "We'll have a coffee stop in an hour." And so it was. In an hour, we were drinking coffee in the Swedish Mission bungalow. But that coffee was hard to drink because our team of six relief workers under the NCC of India was on a field trip surveying conditions between Madras and Coimbatore. We were in the heart of the "Madras famine belt" inhabited by fifty-six million people.

The teacher in Tiruboilur said, "The need in my village is desperate." Miss Jongewoord of Palmarur reported: "... no rain, no field work, no wages and no food. What can I do?" But I knew that even while she spoke, a group of voluntary relief agencies in Australia, New Zealand, Great Britain and the United States,<sup>60</sup> which had donated so much for the refugees, were now collecting food, vitamin tablets and clothing for the undernourished in the food-scarcity areas. "Hold on, Miss Jongewoord," I said, "food is on the way. Tons and tons of it."

As we drove past desolate fields and dry ponds, visiting villages, interviewing local officers and inspecting the Government Ration Shops, it was shockingly obvious that the "monsoon rains" had failed South India for five straight years: 1947-1952. Please do not ask: "Why?" The meteorologists, government officials, local pundits and foreign experts do not know. But the rains have failed and the wells are dry, the food reserves exhausted and innumerable bullock teams have been sold for a trifle because there was no fodder. Everywhere was the same reply: "No rain, no work, no food." If the rains do come this year, October, 1952, there will be no harvest until 1953.

In our survey team there was a Scottish doctor who examined the children and called to our attention the con-

dition of the eyes, skin and protruding stomachs, occasioned by their prolonged substandard diet. This was the saddest part of our work to see the listless children with sunken chests and swollen bellies who should be romping and shouting, as were our children at home, but who stared at us with that haunting "dead pan" expression as though to say, "When will the grain carts come?" But worse still, they looked—and said nothing. They just looked.

We made notes on the same factors in each village: (1) Evidence of vitamin deficiency, (2) age group affected, (3) migration, (4) water supply, (5) ration shops, (6) meals per day, (7) financial situation and (8) last harvested crop. The score did not make for laughter.

**"No rain. . . . No work. . . . No food"**

In some places, 70 percent of the men had left their ancestral village to seek work in a mill or port, leaving the women, children and aged to face the grim reality of daily hunger. I went inside a grass hut and asked a gaunt old woman, "What do you eat?" She reached into an earthen jar and held out a few pieces of ground-nut oil cakes (cattle food) and said: "This." Only "this," when there was food grain in the Government Ration Shop? Why? No work, no wage and consequently no money to buy. The rains had failed for five years and the owners of large farms and estates had not been able to employ seasonal workers, with the result that thousands of peasants did not have money to purchase available food. The Government, aware of this situation, started limited public work projects such as deepening wells, a project not so much to strike water since many were sixty to eighty feet deep, but to put some money into the hands of the hungry villagers.

We knew we would not find corpses on the road as was

true during the Great Bengal Famine of 1942-1943 when Calcutta's Municipal Corpse Disposal Squads removed thousands leading the *Statesman* to observe that "those who carry away the dead found in the streets do noble work." But the masses we saw were very hungry, miserable and emaciated. They were not dying of starvation, but were falling ill to India's ancient diseases, such as malaria, and India's number one new scourge, tuberculosis.

We visited the Government Ration Shops and found the officers sympathetic, friendly and helpful. "Thank America for her help" was a frequent parting word followed by India's new departing grace: "Jai Hind." (Bless India.) There was usually a waiting line because the cheaper food grains sold first leaving the expensive wheat or rice. Here we saw "No work . . . no money . . . no food" visualized. Why did they stand in line and wait? Someone always started the rumor that the ox-carts had been seen and they were full of *bajra* or *gram*, the cheaper grains which they could afford.

Looking at the chain of food distribution links which the Government of India had provided, stretching from the simple Village Ration Shop to the District Supply Officer, through the Regional Director of Food up to the New Delhi office of the Honorable Minister for Agriculture, who was Mr. K. M. Munshi and is now Rafi Ahmad Kidwai, it was reassuring to see that India's leaders were attempting to meet her colossal problems in a spirit of courageous statesmanship. You may thin turnip soup with water, but you cannot stretch a grain of wheat.

### Causes of Food Shortage

What has created the food shortage? First, India has not brought on the food scarcity through her own mistakes.

No one party did it. No one man. It was not "Munshi made" as Congress enemies said in 1950-1951. Agricultural progress was retarded during colonial rule because the British kept India as a producer of raw materials for British factories and a market for its manufactured goods. When the Japanese invaded Burma in 1942, India lost her "rice bowl." The 1943 Bengal Famine was another blow to India's economic equilibrium. Then there occurred a series of unprecedented natural calamities: earthquakes in Assam; drought in Madras, Gujarat and Rajasthan; and floods in Bihar and Uttar Pradesh.<sup>61</sup> In one year 5.5 million tons of food grain was destroyed. The partition also aggravated the food situation because the wheat-producing fields of the Punjab went to Pakistan while the refugees came to India. India retained 82 percent of the pre-partition population, but was allotted only 69 percent of the irrigated land and 65 percent of the wheat land.

During 1947-1948, India's total food production was 41.7 million tons and her imports were 2.8 million, a total of 44.5. But the minimum requirements are 46.1 million tons. In order to bridge this gap, the basic ration was cut from twelve ounces to nine ounces per day and the balance necessary was imported. When I took Dr. Franklin C. Fry, Lutheran World Relief, to visit the Honorable Mr. K. M. Munshi, he told us that India was living from "ship to mouth." There was a six-day food reserve in Madras. The Government at that time could not announce the food reserves lest there be panic and public looting. India's leaders had great faith and the ships arrived. India lived "from ship to mouth." When Prime Minister Nehru broadcast, "Let us declare war on famine," and food production was put on a "war footing," things began to move. He said: "There are many important and even vital prob-

lems confronting us in the international and domestic spheres. But there is nothing more vital or of greater importance today than to meet this menace of famine. . . . I am convinced that we can face it successfully if only we show awareness and determination to do our utmost to crush the evil which threatens to overwhelm us. Let us declare war on famine and all its brood."

### War on Hunger

More important than the reasons for India's food scarcity is the story of the Government's determined efforts to achieve food self-sufficiency. After I had presented one of the largest CROP wheat and powdered-milk shipments of 1951 to the Honorable Minister for Health, Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, she wrote a most gracious letter on behalf of her Ministry thanking the American donors. But she added the note that India had no desire to "pass around the beggar's bowl forever." How well the independent American citizens share this attitude and we applaud India for her efforts to stand on her own feet. It is largely because of India's sincere "all-out effort" to reclaim jungle land, improve agricultural methods and train her farmers that America has responded with financial aid and personnel.

Government aid through Point IV; voluntary relief agencies such as CARE, CROP and Church World Service; international groups such as FAO; and private bodies such as Meals for Millions and Ford Foundation have all helped in the initial "stop-famine" phase of long-range planning.

### A Five-Year Plan

The publication of a long-range plan by a nation of India's importance to Asia and the world was a major event. The plan was prepared by the Indian Planning

Commission of which Prime Minister Nehru is the chairman. It includes India's most brilliant sons. The document is called "The First Five-Year Plan: A Draft Outline."

The democratic nature of India's approach to her basic problems is found throughout the report and can be illustrated by one quotation: "Planning in a democratic State is a social process in which, in some part, every citizen should have the opportunity to participate. To set the pattern of future development is a task of such magnitude and significance that it should embody the best thought of the country and reflect as fully as possible the impact of public opinion and the needs of the community. We have, therefore, felt it necessary, before presenting our proposals in complete detail, to offer a Draft Outline of the Plan. The Draft is intended to be a document for the widest possible public discussion. We hope to have further consultations with the Central Ministries, State Governments and our own Advisory Board and Panels, and also to obtain the views of Members of Parliament before we finalise the Plan." 62

The total expenditure suggested for the first five years is \$3.6 billion—a modest sum compared with India's gigantic needs. About half of this proposed expenditure is for agriculture, irrigation and power development. Hence, a multi-pronged assault upon the food problem is suggested by means of agricultural extension, fertilizer plants, improved seeds, ample tools, tubewells, river valley development and land reclamation. India has studied our TVA scheme and has 135 multi-purpose river valley development projects under way. By the end of five years an additional 8.8 million acres will be irrigated and 1.1 million KW of additional electrical power generated. The Indian farmer



will begin to receive the capital and "know how" which good farming requires.

Last January, 1952, India's Prime Minister Nehru and United States Ambassador Chester Bowles signed an agreement setting up the Technical Cooperation Program between the Government of the United States of America and the Government of India, under which America is to provide \$54,000,000 for "Community Development Projects" (CDP) aimed at lifting the living standards of the village people.<sup>63</sup>

### What Will the "CDP" Do?

The aim of each of the fifty-five projects, each including roughly three hundred villages and 200,000 people, is to demonstrate to the ten million people in these sixteen thousand villages how they can achieve the necessities of life. The Etawah pilot project of Horace Holmes is the pattern. The people must cooperate and "learn by doing." Each area will reclaim wasteland and develop irrigation facilities. Farmers will be provided better seeds and implements. Marketing facilities will be improved. Allied to agriculture will be animal husbandry and *Vana Mahotsana* (reforestation) projects. In 1950, thirty million trees were planted during *Vana Mahotsana* week. To coordinate the work of three thousand *goshalas* (cattle breeding centers), the formation of a State Goshala Federation will be pushed. *Gosadons* (homes for aged cows) will also be established. This is a sound way to tackle the "holy cow" problem and not arouse religious feeling. Steps will also be taken to improve the health of the villagers. Free, compulsory education will be introduced so that by 1965, all children 6-14 will be in school.

### Foreign Aid

America, besides providing \$54,000,000 under the January, 1952, agreement, made a loan of \$190,000,000 for wheat assistance in 1951. Under a December, 1950, agreement \$1,200,000 technical aid was also provided. The World Bank to date has made three loans totaling \$62,500,000: (1) \$34 million in August, 1949, for the modernization of India's government owned and operated railroads and construction of a locomotive factory; (2) \$10 million in September, 1949, to finance the purchase of tractors for clearing the deadly *kans* grass<sup>64</sup> and (3) \$18.5 million April, 1950, for the Damador River Valley Scheme, modeled after TVA. The Colombo Plan of the Commonwealth of Nations has budgeted \$28 million for irrigation and scientific development. The Ford Foundation has established pilot extension projects and training centers to the amount of \$1,870,000.

In addition, there are large sums in the budget of FAO, ILO, UNESCO, fellowship awards and the total of all the voluntary relief organizations, which in themselves exceeded \$1,000,000 in 1952.

Confusion and overlapping is avoided through the International Aid Cooperation Unit which coordinates all assistance coming from outside India. India's own efforts plus this foreign aid should hasten the day when the "beggar's bowl" can be permanently shelved.

Ambassador Chester Bowles commented on this in an article "Asia Challenges Us Through India," in the magazine section of the *New York Times*, March 23, 1952: "But however brave India's efforts, it is now clear that unless America provides this new and struggling nation with substantial and immediate economic assistance—assistance in the concrete forms of bull-dozers, irrigation pumps, plows,

fertilizer, DDT, plus agricultural and public health technicians—India cannot meet the crucial needs of her people in time."

### Results to Date

The Results of India's 1948-1952 efforts are encouraging. The Central Tractor Organization has reclaimed 280,000 acres of land infected with *kans* grass and cleared 32,000 acres of jungle land. The Grow More Food Campaign has produced an additional 1,740,000 tons of food grains between 1948-1950. Sugar products increased from 980,000 tons in 1949-1950 to 1,120,000 in 1950-1951. Other achievements under the war on hunger are: 195,000 wells repaired or sunk; 13,600 water tanks (ponds) constructed; 13,000 minor irrigation works completed; 412,000 tons of fertilizer distributed; and 2,500,000 tons of compost added to the depleted soil. The war on food is being won!

### Survey of Production Drive

We have seen that the food shortage reaches back to the 1942 Japanese occupation of Burma and the Bengal Famine of 1943. The Government of India tried to meet these invasions of fate with a lame Grow More Food Campaign which produced little food and much criticism until 1947. Then came the greatest calamity of all—the partition of the country and the resultant burden of feeding seven and one-half million refugees from Pakistan. In 1949, Lord Boyd Orr came to India at the Government's invitation and recommended that the "food muddle" be placed on an emergency basis. Shri R. K. Patel headed the Special Emergency Branch setup under the Ministry of Agriculture. Prime Minister Nehru made his famous "Let us declare war on famine" radio address and with the year 1950 came

## FROM REFUGEE TO FAMINE RELIEF

real progress. Dr. K. M. Munshi became the Minister for Food and brought his wide experience and great spirit to this pivotal position. United Nation's FAO experts entered the scene and in one year spent \$700,000 financing thirty schemes for technical training. When India launched her Five-Year Plan in 1951, self-sufficiency in food was a major goal with \$402,570,000 designated for agricultural and rural development or 12.8 percent of the total outlay. In addition, \$945,546,000 or 30.2 percent was earmarked for irrigation and power. The combined result is to be an increase of 16,500,000 acres by 1956 which will increase the production of food by 7,202,000 tons. It was this bold Five-Year Plan that attracted United States' Point IV help and financial aid for fifty-five community development projects.

### Increased Production Since 1947

Here are heartening statistics to show the steady increase in production:

	1947	1951
Coal (million tons) .....	30	34
Finished Steel ('000 tons) .....	893	1,064
Cement (million tons) .....	1.4	3.1
Electricity (billion kwh.) .....	4.1	5.8
Power Alcohol (million bulk gallons) ....	2.8	5.6
Cloth (million yards) .....	3,756	4,084
Paper ('000 tons) .....	93	129
Salt (million maunds) .....	51.6	92.9
(82 lbs.: 1 maund)		
Vanaspati (principal cooking oil) (million tons) .....	95	172

There is no doubt, however, that India has a long way to go. To give a few examples of her underdevelopment: While only 6 percent of the waters of the Indian rivers is put to any use, 80 percent of India's cultivated acreage is

unirrigated and is dependent on the capricious monsoon. Vast deposits of rich minerals lie buried underground—coal deposits are estimated at 60 billion tons, and iron ore at 20 billion tons. Wasteland, which is not cultivated at present but can be made cultivable, is estimated at more than 68 million acres. Let us see how wasteland can become farm land.

### The Proud Trees Fell

Paralleling the Himalayas in North India is a jungle belt known as the *terai*. Here the flat plains begin their lift which ends in the clouds as upturned soil meets the glaciers. It is an area of high rainfall, humidity, luxurious jungle growth, tall tiger grass, wild elephants, tigers, snakes and swarms of mosquitos bearing a deadly malaria. This has halted many efforts to colonize the rich-soiled *terai*. The Bareilly-Kathgodam<sup>65</sup> paved road built by the Army to transport troops from cantonments on the plains to the hill stations cuts through the *terai* and a portion of jungle that was once the finest shooting tract in old "British India." But it is going fast.

I drove this road frequently in my jeep and was startled to see in January, 1949, a tree fall and American "land-movers" and bulldozers at work. Thus, the great *terai* Development Scheme began to reclaim land for refugees and clear the virgin jungle. The roar of tractors where no tractor had been, the emerging fields where jungle had been, the number of men thoroughly enjoying a job of muscle and courage reminded me more than anything I had seen in sixteen years of Indian life of the pioneer spirit that "won the west" in the United States. I am glad I saw the first trees fall and three years later visited the modern 16,000 acre farm which was hewn from the wilderness. These

Punjab refugees were harnessed to a great task and a total of 25,000 acres had been cleared. Anti-malaria operations have made it a safe place to live. Seventeen villages provide shelter. Fifteen to thirty acres of rich, black soil go to each family. No, a tractor is *not* given every family! The tractors clear the jungle and move on leaving the farms to be cultivated by the traditional bullock-team-plow method.

### Wolves in the Night

Strange things have happened. When the wild wolves and hyenas began their killing of women and children in the summer of 1951, which threw Lucknow's 200,000 residents into a panic with twenty-eight deaths, the police blamed the American county agents and the Department of Agriculture. It's a case of social psychology. The clearing of the jungles disturbed the wild animals by driving them into the open where they had their first contacts with civilized man. The result was social demoralization of the wild animals which became "man-eaters." It was a fearful summer. Then, the wild elephants raided the State Farm and devoured stacked rice until the Farm Manager built fires at night. The intelligent quadrupeds jogged over to the American-built irrigation ditch, filled their trunks and put out the fires with loud squirts.

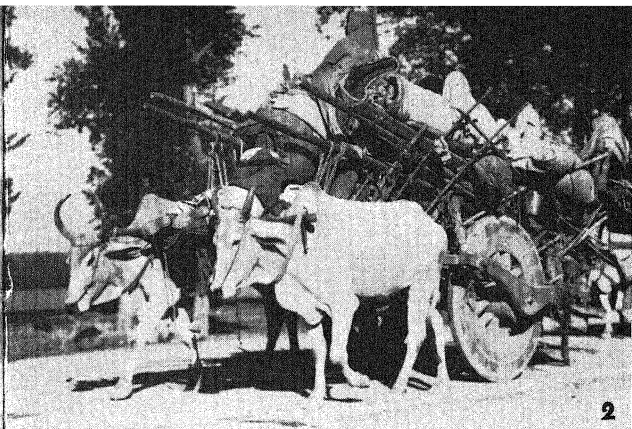
### Too Many People?

People frequently state that India's food shortage is due to overpopulation. I have not been able to accept this verdict. Everytime I made the forty-eight hour trip from Delhi to Madras on the Grand Trunk Express, I wondered why the vast uninhabited tracts were not used. India's

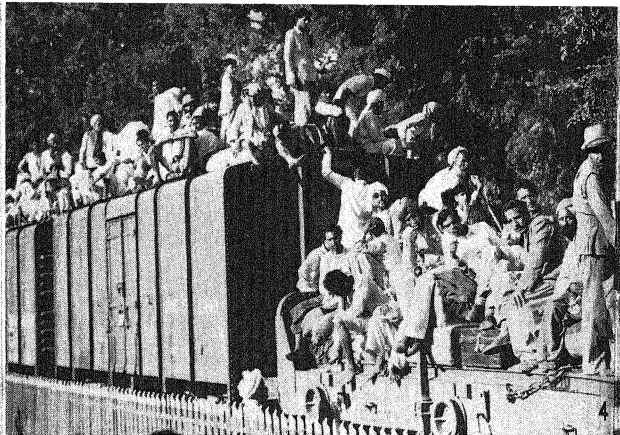
problem is not overpopulation so much as underproduction. Underproduction on the farm and in the factory.

The question of food resources versus population growth became front-page news after William Vogt's *Road to Survival* was published. "Too Many People," in *Harper's* magazine, February, 1948, as "neo-Malthusian" as Vogt and a more balanced article in *Time*, November 8, 1948, were both concerned with America's ability to feed herself and provide an "extra" for hunger-racked nations. In Asia, says Vogt, "except for . . . (the) areas of land now so saturated with human population that living standards are appallingly low, there is little unoccupied good land, except in the U.S.S.R." He calls India the "demographic nadir," a land which is the "victim of her own awful fecundity." There was, he quotes, an increase of eighty-three million in India's population between 1921-1941 (W. S. Thompson, *Annals*, American Academy, January, 1947). He is disturbed by India's R. Mukerjee, who in *Races, Lands and Food* insists on the need for Chinese and Indian masses to expand into the vast open spaces of North and South America. "These facts force us to ask," remarks Dr. Thompson (*op. cit.*), "Why we should regard it of unquestioned benefit to man to have 400 million Indians in 1945 where there were 250 million in 1870." It is an alarming fact to some that if India holds her present rate of human fecundity and reduces her death rate to that of the United States, she can fill five earths in a century.

There are, however, more optimistic opinions. Dr. Robert M. Salter, Chief U. S. Agriculture Research Advisor, concludes from a study of FAO estimates of food needs that if 10 percent of the *podsols* (cleared forest land) were cultivated by methods now used in Finland and 20 percent of the tropical red soils by methods now used in the Philip-



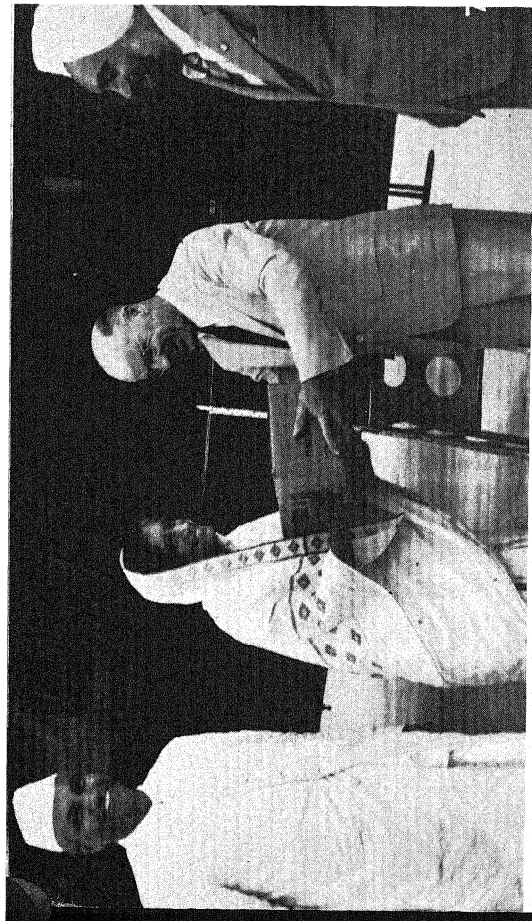






2. Oxcart Bound for Pakistan  
3. Leaving Purna Qila  
4. Bound for Kurukshetra Camp

5. This was 1947  
6. Lady Mountbatten Talking to a Refugee  
7. Canadian Red Cross Send Penicillin



8. Plowing Fields Used as Latrines

9. Missionaries From All Over India Set Up Clinics

10. Agricultural Exhibits

11. Point-4 Tools

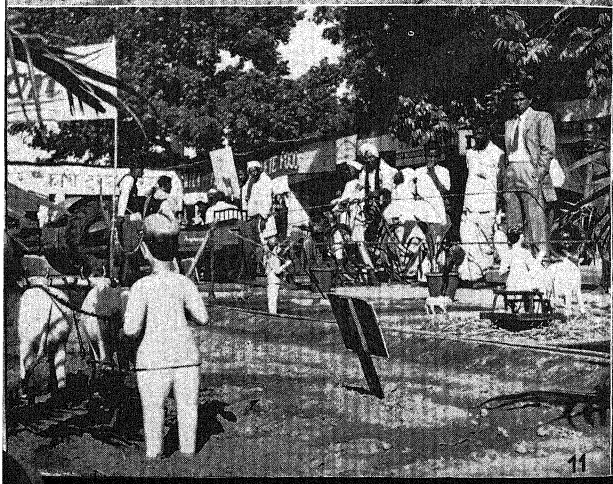
12. Community Development Project Saved My Village

13. No One Shall Starve



8









pinus, "their production added to that of present croplands, effectively cultivated, would jump the world's total food to more than twice the 1960 target set by FAO." If the world wants to make the effort, it can, by way of using present-day seeds and techniques, provide food for twice the present world population.

India is quite right when she contends that a country is underproductive when its people cannot get enough food. India is a land of hungry people because there is not enough food; but it is not a permanently overpopulated country. India's average of ten bushels of wheat per acre is compared with Denmark's fifty; or its rice yield of 750 lbs. per acre to Japan's 3,000. She must grow more. India's food deficit is five million tons of food grains a year or 10 percent of her needs. She can produce that.

Compare India's density of population (246 per square mile) with that of some of the world's leading nations: 750 in England, 708 in Belgium, 382 in pre-war United Germany, 381 in Italy and 426 in Japan. Despite public opinion, India's birth rate is not alarmingly high. India's increase for 1931-1941 was 14.3 percent and from 1941-1951, 13.4 percent; while the increase in the United States was 14.5 percent. Since India's population is 360 million, even a smaller percentage of increase looks large.

### Famine Relief

With this as a background, the distribution of food from voluntary relief organizations grew steadily. Relief committees were established in Assam, Gujerat, Madras, Bihar and Rajasthan. Hospitals, hostels, leprosariums and schools received the bulk of our supplies, for distribution is better when controlled in institutions. Milk-powder as such was *not* distributed. The powder was mixed with water by our



own workers and the milk consumed "then and there" at "milk bars." Ralston cereal, wheat, milk-powder, sugar, vitamin tablets, beans, barley, oats, corn oil, prunes, raisins, rice and Multi-Purpose Food formed the bulk of our imports. The last year, it was a million-dollar business. American, New Zealand, Australian and British friends can be proud of this record for we received and distributed supplies from each of these lands. Perhaps this is a "drop in the bucket." But, it is clear that India must grow food or lose her freedom. Every bushel, barrel or bag helps to strengthen a sovereign democratic republic—India—whom we believe will choose to be on Democracy's side and whom we salute as our sister republic in the heart of Asia.

## CHAPTER VII

### Indo-American Relief Agreement (1951)

LIKE "TOPSY" IN UNCLE TOM'S CABIN, RELIEF WORK IN INDIA "just grew." The areas of operation changed with India's new needs. But one factor was constant: importation difficulties. Whether destined for Punjab refugees or Madras famine sufferers, each shipment posed a brood of problems involving "import duty" and "inland freight." The more we paid for duty and freight the less food was available for distribution. While the Ministry of Food and the Ministry of Health urged remission of customs duty the Honorable Minister of Finance had his guiding star: the maximum revenue for his new government. Much energy expended in 1948, 1949 and 1950 was due to the shipment-by-shipment "custom officials" and "rail transport" struggles. Our goodwill intentions were nearly smothered by red tape at times.

#### Prime Minister Nehru Helps

At a meeting of the United Council for Relief and Welfare, Government House, New Delhi, we presented our difficulties and Mr. Nehru immediately suggested that the Indian Red Cross might help in the transportation of American relief supplies from ports to inland distribution centers. His excellent suggestion was accepted readily by the President of the Indian Red Cross, Sardar Balwant Singh Puri, who issued the necessary instructions that our supplies should travel under the Red Cross label. This eased our problem for one year, but our volume of imports began to swamp the Red Cross facilities. The tail began to wag the dog and when Red Cross aid was withdrawn, we grew in other directions.

### Certificates

The customs duty requirements were not so happily removed and remain the one unpleasant aspect of our entire humanitarian enterprise. Relief supplies were cleared "provisionally duty free" and customs duty was subsequently canceled only upon presentation of "certificates" from District officials who certified that the supplies had been distributed "free of charge" irrespective of race, caste or creed. This sounds harmless, but if a shipment of 560 barrels of powdered milk was divided and sent to fifty villages for distribution through various institutions, it meant fifty different certificates. Imagine convincing fifty busy Indian officials that these relief supplies had been distributed according to the code! They were too busy to go to see the "irrespective of race or creed" distribution and were loath to certify this fact on our word.

### Indo-American Agreement

The situation was really critical when a very exciting international development occurred. On July 9, 1951, Madame Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit for India and Dean Acheson for the United States signed the Indo-American agreement in Washington, D. C., pursuant to Section 6 of the India Emergency Food Aid Act of 1951. This was a great forward step in Indo-American relations. In this agreement donated supplies and goods would be acceptable to the Government of India for *free distribution by approved relief organizations* up to June 30, 1952, and would come into India license free, duty free, state and local tax free and ration free.

Although this was signed in Washington, D. C., in July, 1951, it was December before the diplomatic hinges had

been oiled, the "bugs" removed and shipments were on the way. Some in India did not realize the immense possibilities of this new agreement and India nearly missed the boat! We were so numbed by two years of customs struggle that we did not immediately realize that the doors were open for an entirely new adventure in providing food for India's millions.

Miss Evelyn Hersey, Social Welfare attaché of the American Embassy, returned in September from Washington and was astonished by the absence of loud cheers in the relief committee rooms. "Don't you boys know what you have?" she asked. She joined the group at work to implement the Indo-American agreement and deserves choice orchids for her efforts. Another golden link in the chain of accomplishment is the name—Helen Scott Saulsbury—a dynamic Texan who served during the 1947-1948 riots in the Presbyterian Hospital in Ambala as a voluntary worker and developed a miracle-producing formula for acquiring hospital supplies. She returned to the United States, but sped back to India in the fall of 1951 with a newspaper clipping of the Indo-American Agreement in her hand and started a one-woman-three-month campaign to pin down the policy making official in the relief and food realm. I had spent isolated week ends since August at this task, but never got to the inner sanctum. But what several of us had been unable to do by an occasional thrust at New Delhi, Mrs. Saulsbury accomplished from her Imperial Hotel base by three months of relentless pressure and one aim: "How work the Agreement?"

In addition, other groups were having their experiences and learning the hard way. The American Friends Service Committee; CARE, Inc.; the Mennonite Central Committee; the National Catholic Welfare Conference; Lutheran

World Relief and Church World Service were all at work—importing, shipping and distributing without benefit of conference, one with another or sharing mutual problems.

### Six Form a Council

The time had come for the representatives of the recognized relief agencies to meet, get acquainted and use most fully the generous terms of the new Agreement. We were delighted when Miss Hersey called an informal, unofficial meeting in her apartment, December, 1951, which was attended by: Mr. E. T. Greaves, Rev. Neil McBrearty, National Catholic Welfare Conference; Mrs. Swarn Sarin, Friends Service Unit; Rev. S. M. King, Mennonite Central Committee; Donald F. Ebright, representing Church World Service, Lutheran World Relief and Christian Rural Overseas Program (CROP) and with Bishop J. Waskom Pickett and Mrs. Saulsbury as distinguished consultants.

It was an exciting meeting because Mrs. Saulsbury reported that after three months of searching in the governmental maze, she had located the high-level, policy-making official we needed: Mr. P. G. Zachariah, Deputy Secretary, Ministry of Food and Agriculture, Jaisalmer House, New Delhi, who proved to be gracious, cordial and always helpful. We now had direct access to his door and from this moment things began to move.

### America Alerted

The next step was to organize an Indo-American Agreement Relief Council consisting of the executive heads of the six recognized relief agencies. I was elected Secretary and plunged into this widened task because only six months remained before the expiring of the agreement.<sup>66</sup> Mrs. Saulsbury, Miss Hersey and I held repeated conferences

## INDO-AMERICAN RELIEF AGREEMENT

with Mr. Zachariah until the entire chain of events from collection in the United States to ultimate distribution in India was perfected. Then I sent a December, 1951, letter headed "Stop Press" to all schools, hospitals and missions across India releasing the news of the satisfactory implementation of the agreement. But letters to the United States would not be enough to convince the New York organizations that something new, radical and great had happened. America must be alerted. With characteristic generosity and speed, Mrs. Saulsbury called TWA for the first reservation to New York, flew home and in early January, 1952, began an intensive educational and promotional campaign to wake up American donors to the unprecedented opportunity that existed to share with the needy of India. I cabled New York of her arrival and set the stage for her convincing publicity. Orchids, too, for Mrs. Saulsbury, who in early 1952 convinced the Christian agencies of America that a great international agreement had opened doors for volume donations.

Her own Presbyterian Church sent \$115,288 worth of hospital equipment and supplies, with the United States Government paying the freight and the Government of India permitting duty-free entry and inland freight. The Vellore Medical College in the South was the largest single recipient in India. No effort was made to total Catholic, CARE, Friends, etc., receipts for each unit under the Council was autonomous. We formed a "Council" of agencies, but worked together to facilitate the flow of supplies for our own constituents. When the goods began to roll, it resulted in a million-dollar relief year for India.

CROP had been alert to this agreement and one of the first fruits was the October, 1951, shipment of wheat on the S. S. *Silverspray*, which was presented in full to the

Here is the answer to the question: "Does CROP and other voluntary relief agencies food reach those for whom it is intended, and do they know that it comes as a gift from the American people expressing Christian compassion for those in need?" American relief food has not only saved lives, but has also built understanding and friendship among nations.

## CHAPTER VIII

### Kazakh-Turki Flight to Freedom (1949)

#### Freeing Men

A REVOLUTION IN 1776 CREATED THE UNITED STATES OF America, a nation that has traditionally encouraged liberation movements. Our Declaration of Independence proclaims: "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their creator with certain inalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness." Working within the United Nations framework, we have had a share in helping six hundred million people achieve self-government since the close of World War II. The story of Israel, Pakistan, Ceylon, India, Burma, Indonesia and the Philippine Islands has been post-World War II daily news. Mr. G. L. Mehta, India's Ambassador to the United States, said at an October 22, 1952, India League of America sponsored dinner at the Waldorf Astoria, that India appreciated and would remember the "strong body of American opinion which lent moral support to her national struggle during India's pre-independence years." India's August 15 and our July 4 strike responsive chords.

#### Grim News From Sinkiang

But a desperate fight for freedom is now going on among a little-known people who live in Central Asia on "the roof of the world." When we compare their revolution with our 1776 revolution, we must realize that whereas the New England "rebels" won, the Kazakh-Turki "rebels" of East-



ern Turkistan (Sinkiang) are losing theirs. They are losing to communist Russia.

I first heard of the Kazakh-Turki political refugees arriving in Kashmir from Central Asia through the American Embassy in New Delhi. The Social Welfare attaché said that whereas this was not a job the American Embassy should undertake, it was something for organized voluntary relief agencies. Since we were organized for relief operations, it was my responsibility as Director to survey the needs and set relief machinery in operation. Thus, relief among the Kazakh-Turkis stranded in Kashmir became a major work in 1952.

### Eyes on Kashmir

Fortunately, Sheikh Abdullah, Prime Minister of Kashmir and Jammu, had taken a keen interest in the refugees, but he was burdened with the "Kashmir problem" and Indo-Pakistan relationships.<sup>67</sup> He welcomed assistance for the Sinkiang refugees. The Indian Red Cross and Delhi University were also concerned, but lacked finances and supplies. They, too, welcomed our aid. The Watumull Foundation had sent bales of clothing to Kashmir for the refugees. It was a ticklish problem for India because of the possible political repercussions in communist China where already the charge had been made that India sheltered "political enemies." Indeed the Chinese Cultural Mission visiting India boycotted Sheikh Abdullah's tea-party in Srinagar because of the presence of the Sinkiang patriots. It was a confused picture in 1952 with several interested groups, but no one taking the initiative.

My first move was to contact Dr. Phillip Edmonds, the Australian principal of the British established Church Missionary Society School in Srinagar, who was the only Euro-

pean who had taken an interest in the Turki and Kazakh refugees. Because most of the top-ranking officials in Kashmir were graduates of this school and held Dr. Edmonds in great respect, he was unquestionably the right person to be my Kashmir contact.

### **Tolstoy Foundation Sends Funds**

The next development was news because the Tolstoy Foundation, New York, a society of white Russians, dedicated to the preservation of democracy, wrote that they would send substantial funds for the relief of the Kazakhs-Turkis refugees who had fled from communist oppression. I opened the Tolstoy Foundation<sup>68</sup> account in February, 1952, choosing a bank in which a fellow Rotarian was manager and we celebrated the opening of the Tolstoy Fund account as a Rotary Club project. Immediately then, I sent the first check to Dr. Edmonds in Kashmir.

But how did these refugees get into Kashmir, the tourist-haven of India? Who are these hardy Turkis and Kazakhs? What vicious force drove them from their ancestral grazing lands over the mighty Himalayas with men and animals dying in the snowbound passes? What could be done to help them? What did we do?

### **Where Is Sinkiang?**

Before these questions are answered, let us identify and establish the location of Sinkiang, the source of this modern exodus. It is a Province meaning "new frontier" or the western appendage of communist China, beyond Tibet and below Outer Mongolia, if you stand in India looking north! Here the frontiers of China, the Soviet Union, Afghanistan, India, Pakistan and Tibet converge. It is twice the size of Texas and the people possess Texan qualities: grit, courage

and individuality. The Kazakhs could well have taken for their liberation song, "Don't Fence Me In." When Russia moved in, they moved out! Sinkiang, like the United States, is polygenous—a melting pot of many races. The population of four million has, however, a certain solidity owing to an 85 percent Muslim majority. In any consideration of Central Asia, it is important to remember that the universality of Islam has made it a social force transcending race or color.

One of the largest groups in Sinkiang, perhaps forty percent of the total 4,055,850, consists of Kazakhs, a nomadic people of Turkic speech and Muslim faith who are related ethnically to the Kazakhs in the adjoining Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic.

Although the Sinkiangese are not Chinese, their Province has long been China's westernmost frontier. Geographically, it is that area where Russian and Chinese interests impinge. But it was so far from Peking and cut off from Russia and India by the formidable Karakoram and Himalayan Ranges that Sinkiang remained an ideal buffer state and power vacuum.

### Russo-Chinese Contest

During the first century B.C., China was master and later Russia. Thus has control swung from China to Russia repeatedly throughout the last twenty centuries. Modern "Russian-Turkestan" was created between 1864 and 1868 by Russia's grouping of several hostile tribes. After the treaty of 1872, Russian caravans were permitted to cross Sinkiang. Then in 1932, Russia intervened and took over part of Sinkiang's internal administration. Two years later Russia poured her troops into the vacuum and left 800,000 dead or in prison after a ruthless campaign and then exer-

cised a firm control until 1944. The American press gave scant space to these events in remote Central Asia and indeed the lines of communication were so tenuous that little reliable news came through. But the 1934 Russian liquidation of the Sinkiang patriots seemed far away—farther away than Korea in 1945.

When World War II was proving to be exceedingly tough for Russia with German troops pressing Leningrad, Stalin was forced to recall his troops from Sinkiang for the defense of Moscow and immediately the old struggle was resumed—Generalissimo Chiang Kai-chek moved in from East China. The few Russian troops in lonely garrisons were driven out in 1943 by the Chinese Nationalist Army, which made a mutual peace with the Turkestan National League. The political prisoners were released and the trade routes reopened. New contacts were made with the outside world and again the caravans moved across the lonely wastes breaking the silence with the tingle-tingle of the mule bells.

Peace, prosperity and contentment, however, was not in the book for this "Shangri-la." With China's mounting internal disorder and Russian victory, Sinkiang again became the focus of attention. Just as Russia switched from wrecking trains in India to distribution of colorful literature, so this time armed troops did not invade the peaceful grazing lands and leave destruction and death. Agents trained in political strategy were sent in to infiltrate civil and military establishments and organize communist cells. Soon the Turkistan communist organizers were in key positions. Simultaneous with this development, the Chinese communist army began closing in from the east. Chiang Kai-chek withdrew most of the Nationalist Army as he was bogging down in Central China with the result that there

was a small force to face this new communist threat. In September, 1949, General Tao, Commander-in-Chief of the Chinese forces in Turkistan, laid down his arms before the communist Chinese without a skirmish. Again Sinkiang was in Russian control.

### A Patriot Speaks

Let us hear the latest news from the lips of one of the distinguished refugees, Isa Yusuf Alitakin, Secretary General of the Turkistan Government and President of the All Turkistan Turki Muslim Union, a patriot of patriots, founder of the Nationalist Party and an exile in Kashmir in March, 1952. He reported to our relief committee as follows: "In September, 1949, when General Tao, Commander-in-Chief of Chinese forces in Turkistan and Mr. Buhfran Shahedi, Governor General of Turkistan, decided to lay down their arms and surrender before the Chinese Communists, the people of Turkistan were grievously shocked and a dark cloud, a dismal prospect of a miserable and a precarious future loomed large before their vision and mourning spread in each and every house and home in Turkistan. The people realized that if the Communists came to Turkistan at that time, the Russians would get a favourable opportunity to entering Turkistan once again, the unfortunate memories of which had still been green and fresh in their minds, as the Russians remained and had had an upper hand in Turkistan from 1933 to 1943. Next, the dire consequences of the combination of two Imperialist Powers, viz., Chinese and Russian Communists were all too well known and felt to be ignored. The exploitation of the fertile land of Turkistan, rich in mineral wealth and its strategic position, were naturally clearly visualized by its people. Last, but not the least, was the imminent danger

for the people of Turkistan, the neighbouring countries and, in fact, the whole world. The people of Turkistan would in particular have been subjected to untold miseries and hardship resulting from the basic poisoning effect of Russian and Communist plans.

"Finding ourselves too weak to defend ourselves single-handed or to avert General Tao's or Governor Buhfran's surrender, we, with thousands of our countrymen, who had centralized all hopes in the free and democratic nations of the world, decided to leave our country and come into the lap of such freedom loving countries. The result of this step was that we were compelled to undertake a journey of about two-months plodding through treacherous snow and ice, impassable mountains, crossing dreadful and roaring torrents, walking over precipitous mountain edges and high peaks at the risk of our lives, in a desperate race against time. We were helpless and had to abandon our nearest kith and kin, friends and even wives who could not keep pace with us. Under this forced march over 18,000 feet altitudes the rarefied air made blood gush forth from the nostrils of men and beasts alike. Most of the party began to fall off one by one. We were compelled to sacrifice lives of hundreds of our countrymen who either lost their lives or got their hands and feet frozen and thus crippled. Due to lack of oxygen, lack of food stuffs, freezing and biting cold and a terrible journey in six-feet deep snow and glossy ice, thousands of pack ponies and animals were left dead in the way.

"We thus left our country."

### Flight to Freedom

It was the surrender of General Tao and Buhfran Shahedi to the communists that set off the Sinkiang liberation move-

ment and led some thirty thousand farmers and shepherds to form guerilla bands around Osman Badur and General Janam Khan Haji. They faced the thirty-five thousand armed and trained troops of the Fifth Chinese Communist Army and the Russian 9th Division. But both leaders were killed and the patriots scattered. They did not dare surrender or return to the Russian controlled areas for that was certain death. Group after group began to flee from Sinkiang. One group fought its way toward Outer Mongolia. Another group started for Leh in Ladakh with India the ultimate destination. Their dream was an old dream—freedom. They did not want Chinese or Russian foreign rule. They wanted independence as had come to so many colonial lands in Asia.

The first group of fleeing Turkis (Turki-speaking Muslims) numbering sixty included the governor, prime minister and wealthy businessmen who knew that they would be definitely finished as soon as the communists reached Urumchi. Mr. Paxton, the American Consul,<sup>69</sup> was with this group. They piled their ponies with as much as could be transported and headed for the high Himalayas, Ladakh and India in August, 1949. As they escaped, others saw the serious situation and formed groups on the march until at one time there were four thousand trekking across the Himalayas. They faced deadly cold and hundreds of pack ponies died. Because they fled in September, the passes were frozen, the slopes were ice-covered and the unbridged streams, a cruel test.

It was a desperate race against the elements of nature and the evil forces of men. Women and children who could not stand the pace fell behind and perished. In one party of 760, it is reported that fifty died in the snow passes. Seven-hundred eleven Turkis in another party reached Leh,

Ladakh, a border state of Kashmir, while another group of three thousand reached Gilgit Agency, a border state of Pakistan. Many of the Turkis went directly to Mecca where a large colony of Turkistanis had already been established. No one knows how many groups started or how many perished. They continue to arrive in India. The last group of 102 refugees arrived in Bombay, October 28, 1952, from Kashmir under the leadership of Hussain Taiyji en route to Turkey where arrangements had been made for their resettlement. Others remain in Kashmir hoping to carry on as shepherds and farmers.

In addition to the Turkis, there were bands of Kazakhs who fled from Sinkiang to India. One group of four hundred left in June, 1951, but only 290 reached Kashmir on October 3 with a few horses, sheep and goats. Fifty-six persons were killed during seven communist attacks. In the midst of one skirmish, a pregnant woman was wounded, giving birth to a boy whom she named "Ok-ta-by" (Hit-by-a-bullet). While we need not classify Vighurs, Taranchis, Uzbeks, Kazakhs, Kirghiz, Mongols, Manchus, Solons and Tajiks of Sinkiang, it can be said that the Kazakhs and Turkis are not the same people. The Kazakhs are nomads with some fringe agriculture and ruggedly individualistic.

Upon arrival in Kashmir, the women continued to weave course wool cloth, the characteristic igloo-shaped tents were erected and the men worked with their flocks, tanned leather and wove rugs. Kashmir beautiful? Yes, they said, but they spoke of the day they could return to their own valleys, Ili and Emil, and there tend their flocks.

But they know they cannot return to Sinkiang while the communists rule. They hope some "uninhabited valley" in Kashmir will be set apart for them, but little do they know of India's population. Few are the uninhabited valleys



where men can exist! Sinkiang may be remote, but these men had heard of America and often spoke of going there—for freedom. How many do look to us these days.

The Kazakh leader, Ali Begh, told Mr. Donald E. Rugh, who succeeded me as Director in 1952: "We are sure that the Red tyranny must fall in the fight of all the free nations under the guidance of America upon whom we, the Turkistanis, look as our sponsor. We are prepared to sacrifice to the last drop of our blood in this struggle. We pray for a better future which will be possible through the democratic countries, especially America."

At first India was disturbed and embarrassed by the presence of these uninvited aliens who came to India seeking sanctuary. The Government of India feared international reactions: Chinese and Russian hostility. These initial fears subsided and India is facing the problem of the Sinkiang refugees in the spirit of courageous statesmanship.

### Two Groups

When we began relief work among the political refugees in Kashmir, we were faced with two groups: (1) the Turkis, who came out as early as 1951 and included government officials, professional men and merchants; and (2) the nomadic shepherd-farmers known as Kazakhs.

The Kashmir Government generously housed them in two *sarais*.<sup>70</sup> Sheikh Abdulla appointed a Turkistan Refugees Relief Committee consisting of:

1. Khawaja Ghulam Nabil, District Commissioner;
2. Khwaja Gulam Mohammad Butt, Secretary of the Indian Read Cross;
3. Mr. Mirza Kamal, Municipal President;
4. Dr. Mohammad Sultan, Local Health Officer;

5. Tasildar Sher-i-Khas, an Official;
6. Dalil Khan Haji, Ex-Brigadier General of the Turkistan Army;
7. Haji Mohammad Kasim, a Refugee;
8. Hussain Taji, Chief of a Kazakh tribe.

The only complaint was that each of the first five members was swamped with their own work and with difficulty could give the time for day-to-day administration of relief and later rehabilitation. They also lacked relief funds and supplies. But personnel, relief supplies and funds were the ingredients our Relief Committee could offer.<sup>71</sup> It was fortunate for us that Sheikh Abdullah, the Prime Minister, took a personal interest in the refugees and was a personal friend of Dr. Edmonds.

### The NCC Steps In

Two problems hampered our work. Some local Srinagar Kashmiris were jealous of our work for these aliens from Central Asia. They had a point because Kashmir had suffered from the Indo-Pakistan "shooting" and military activity. They needed clothes, bedding, food and medicine, but we were helping the Kazakhs! Secondly, funds had been sent by the Nationalist Chinese for the relief of the 1949 Turki escapees. This money was not used wisely and the Sinkiang refugees were open to criticism. But by the time we arrived, there was a strong representative committee free of any scandal and working conscientiously. Rather than set up our organization, we decided to work through the Kashmir organization.

Food was the first need. The Kashmir Government had allocated Rs 1200 (\$240) per month for rice and wheat.

This was totally inadequate for normal nutritional needs. Powdered milk was provided by the United Nations Organization (UNECF). Clothing sent by that generous establishment, the Watumull Foundation was being held until the Prime Minister could distribute it in person. But Prime Ministers are too busy for that. Mr. Rugh was able to get this distributed by the District Commissioner.

In March, 1952, medical care was very haphazard. A local compounder was detailed for all medical work. Our committee found wounds received from the flight still undressed and unhealed. Many were sick. The Red Cross agreed to conduct a dispensary provided they had funds. Here the Tolstoy Foundation contributions worked miracles. Lest we be too critical of Kashmir, we must bear in mind the military operations going on in Kashmir.

While relief was urgent, we thought of rehabilitation from the first. Most of the urbanized Turkis go on to Bombay, where they sail for Turkey via Iraq and Syria. The Kazakhs do not want to travel farther and need land, tools, cattle, sheep and grazing rights. The Sindh Valley was suggested, but it is already overpopulated. Uri was also mentioned by the Revenue Minister. Since most of their sheep were lost on the trail, it was agreed that the first step toward rehabilitation would be to give two ewes per head or \$5,440 from American relief funds. For the 680 sheep, three rams.

Cows were seriously required because the Kazakhs have been noted for their fine dairy herds. It was suggested that the Mennonites or Brethren who had sent calves to Europe start a "heifer for the Himalayas" or "cows for the Kazakhs" campaign. Horses, bullocks, tools and plows too were part of our plans to resettle the patriots who lost, but won.

### Why Did Russia Seize?

We have followed the hazardous flight of a few Turki and Kazakhs who fled from communist oppression. Those who survived are being well cared for in India. But let us not forget the three million plus who remain. Look at Sinkiang. Why does Russia want to rule this remote country? Russians are there in disturbing numbers. Mr. Tai Koang, a press correspondent with the Chinese Goodwill delegation to Turkistan in September, 1950, wrote that when they landed at Ili, there were so many foreigners at the airport, he would not believe other than that the plane had landed in Europe! Why? Russia needs Central Asia's resources for her global conquest!

(1) Airports at Koshgar and Ili bring New Delhi 625 air miles away. Cement strips, radar and underground hangars have been constructed. Fifty planes can land at one time on the new Koshgar strip.

(2) Roads and bridge work are being pushed feverishly to provide the all-weather, year-round Russia to China highway. Russian engineers and Russian capital are doing it, reports Isa Yusuf Alitakin.

(3) Raw materials. The work of getting the products from the mines of Sinkiang was begun immediately after the occupation by Chinese communists. Russian technicians have introduced new machinery. Geologists have located uranium ore near Guehing and excavation has started.

(4) Food. Sinkiang will be a bread-basket when seeds and agricultural implements are introduced. Already a surplus food area, there are vast uncultivated areas. Here is a prize for Russia.

(5) Manpower. Already boys between the ages of thirteen and forty-five are undergoing compulsory military training.

Russia is wasting no time in Sinkiang and disturbing news comes over the Urumchi radio. Reports come of the "red robbers" from Russia who no longer admit Chinese into Eastern Turkistan by virtue of old permits, but refer all to Russian officials at the Shing Shing Sha Check Post. One hundred fifty thousand cattle were removed and shipped to Russia in the first six months of 1950. Collection of food stuffs is required. In the Paskam District each cart carrying Government Food Quota collected grain carried the banner: "Against American Imperialism." Leaders taught the farmers the slogans that each grain would become a bomb for America's destruction.

The more you look at the whole map of Asia, the more certain it becomes that India is democracy's last chance in Asia and consequently, America's last chance to help 360 million people strengthen their Sovereign Democratic Republic until it will resist attacks from within and without. For Russia will no more respect India's frontiers than Sinkiang's frontiers nor India's independence than Sinkiang's freedom if it will serve the Soviet world conquest plan. Only a strong, well-armed India will impress Russia with the folly of trespassing.

## CHAPTER IX

### India, the United States and the United Nations

#### Hate-America Chorus

THE WELL-ORGANIZED AND AMPLY FINANCED COMMUNIST Party in India is stirring up the smear-America paint pot. We can expect professionally directed sniping at successful agricultural, educational and industrial projects which bear an Indo-American cooperation label. That India added eight dollars to each Point IV, five dollars from the United States in 1952 for Community Development Projects under India's Five-Year Plan disturbs the "Go Home America" screamers who change tack and claim that if American aid is not "forced" upon India, it is "wasted." "How can Indians operate tractors?" "But Nehru is a communist" are typical false statements beamed at large and divergent audiences to undermine cordial Indo-American relations. The Indo-American Technical Corporation; the Etawah Project; the Damodar River Valley Scheme; Ford Foundation extension projects; Standard Vacuum Oil, Burnmah Shell and Caltex Oil refineries erected on a mutually profitable basis; a Danish pharmaceutical firm's penicillin plant; and the Indo-Norwegian Aid Bill <sup>71</sup> are random examples of a growing bond between India and the West. As early as March 22, 1949, Mr. Nehru said that India had "far closer relations with some countries of the West than with others" but that it did not want to be "bound down" to a "particular group." <sup>72</sup> Partnership is looked for after long colonial rule.

The assistance of the Point IV American "plow boys" who

are training capable Indian farmers to use modern equipment, tools and techniques to win the battle for bread is being felt all over Asia and is therefore disturbing to Moscow. Russia cannot afford to watch the growing Indo-American peace and fellowship pattern with complacency. To say that a struggle between Communism and Democracy for the soul of India is being waged this coming quadrennium is not entirely accurate because the United States is also involved. Near-sighted Americans may say, "Let India go communist," but the fact is that America is marked by the Kremlin as communism's final victim-to-be. Lenin prophesied: "A series of frightful clashes between the Soviet Republic and the bourgeois state is inevitable. . . . In the end . . . a funeral requiem will be sung either over the Soviet Republic or over world capitalism." India has freely chosen an economic system under her democratic form of governance, which includes controls as well as private enterprise and the free flow of foreign capital. This marks her as well as the United States as a Russian victim-to-be. Russia's methods may change, but Soviet policy is constant. India and America must work together for mutual development if not survival.

### Meeting New Asian Equals

The rapid emergence of the United States as a World Power with global responsibility is straining our understanding and resources. Vast areas of the world were anthropological or tourist preserves before World War II. Now, millions have shaken off colonial rule, are struggling for nationhood and are stepping into the world arena where "we" and "they" are meeting as equals for the first time. Before the war our State Department listed India, Burma, Ceylon, Nepal, Bhutan and Tibet under Britain: Indo-

China under France; the Indies under the Netherlands and consequently dealt with millions of aspiring Asians through a diplomatic pouch. Today Asia is speaking. India denied the Dutch right of air passage after a military offensive in Indonesia. India and Pakistan forgot their Kashmir struggle to jointly declare their opposition to the Anglo-American school for the disposition of Italian colonies in Asia. Prime Minister Nehru discerned the signs of the times when he planned the Asian Relations Conference in 1948, which he personally described as a "watershed in Asian history." Again at India's invitation, nineteen nations met in New Delhi to set forth a program for the United Nations in Indonesia. This new India-inspired activity stems from the conviction that the day has come for Asia to play a vital world role and India is to be Asia's spokesman. Moreover, it is a declaration that India is unwilling to be a pawn of either the United States or Russia. This new relationship between India and the West calls for new adventures in international understanding. India must herself choose whether she will stand by us or against us.

America and India were not too well acquainted before August 15, 1947. Tourists, troops and traders reported the Kiplingesque India of scampering monkeys, holy cows and tiger shooting maharajahs. Sopranos sang: "Pale Hands I Loved Beside the Shalimar" as mid-forty executives thought up a much needed sales promotional trip to the Far East. "Mother India" was countered with "Uncle Sam" and we looked at each other across a wide salt water barrier like new boys in a small Kansas town peeking over a wood fence, uncertain of whether to throw a rock or share an apple. Independence for India bridged this gap and our relations have become extensive as well as intimate. Visit the American Embassy in New Delhi and you will note the



amazing fact that "diplomats are breaking out all over." And isn't it significant that independent India opened her first Embassy in Washington, D.C.! This does not mean necessarily that we *are* friends, but have placed ourselves in a position for friendship to develop through togetherness. We have dropped the rocks and there are apples and mangoes to share.

### "1951 Yankee Invasion"

We cannot establish positive friendship ties with India if we go in on old patterns. Many of my Rotary brothers in Lucknow were fearful of the 1951 "Yankee invasion." They were not sure that we were in India to teach, trade and share. They remember that the British, as gracious as they were courageous, came to trade and teach and remained for three hundred years—as rulers. It is our misfortune that we cannot go to India as free teachers, Point IV agriculturists, missionaries or businessmen because we are marked by the past centuries of foreign rule. They see in us the Portuguese, Spanish, Dutch, French and British Colonial regimes. But how India takes to friendship. He who offers patience, an understanding heart and the hand of fellowship will find an open door to India's heart.

The old terms were repugnant to India, but Lord and Lady Mountbatten came with patience, understanding hearts and a clasp of fellowship so sincere that India embraced them as their own. It is the pattern of Ambassador and Mrs. Chester Bowles of whom the Ambassador of India to the United States, Mr. G. L. Mehta said: "His insight into our problems, his genuine appreciation of our difficulties, his untiring energy have all contributed in no small measure to a better understanding between the two countries." It is the pattern used by associate Justice William O.

Douglas of the U.S. Supreme Court who has gone into the remote corners of the earth to discover how people live and think. One night after a hazardous journey to the foot of the Pass of Death (Rohtang Pass) 13,400 feet, at the end of the Kulu Valley in North India, which leads to Western Tibet, Mr. Douglas shared a room with the Himalayan coolies. The atmosphere was "stuffy, even foul." "A tremendous clap of thunder shook the bungalow. Death was abroad. But inside was warmth, contentment, and the companionship of men bent on high adventure."<sup>73</sup> Here are terms of the new day out of which creative foreign policy can be shaped.

### Bowles Letter Hoax

If an American tourist read only the pro-communist weekly, *Blitz*, a sensational Bombay tabloid, he would write to his home paper that America had no friends in India. *Blitz* reflects a section of the Indian population that is rabidly anti-American. The lengths to which irresponsible journalism will go in an effort to divide Indo-American friendship was illustrated by the July, 1952, "Bowles Letter Hoax." Mr. Bowles has earned the hatred of the communists because of his energetic presentation of the American story to the peoples of South East Asia.<sup>74</sup>

The editor of *Current*, a *Blitz* rival anti-communist weekly, heard that *Blitz* had held an interview with the American Ambassador. The fact is he had gone to explain United States policy. A few days later, *Current* reproduced a photostat of a letter which Mr. Bowles had allegedly written to the editor of the *Blitz* stating that he would like to meet some communists in Bombay, "only please do not make much noise about this sort of thing." Mr. Bowles declared it was a forgery and requested an investigation. The Gov-

ernment of India acted with prompt firmness and placed both the editors of *Blitz* and *Current* under arrest charging that the pro-communist editor of *Blitz* had created the forged photostat and sold it through an agent to *Current*. The truth was unearthed because one man protested and demanded an investigation. But too many slanderous stories, statements and dark-room-doctored newspaper illustrations went unchallenged between 1947-1950.

### Improved Relations

Lest we criticize only India for baiting Uncle Sam, let us remember that this has become a popular post-War II past-time. Many of our European allies exhibit violent anti-American fringes. Just as the writer contends that India is Asia's bright and stable spot, so he maintains that India is one of the few areas where the attitude toward the United States is growing sweeter. What has caused the anti-American feelings to subside? Many factors. (1) India and the United States are learning more about each other through first hand contacts. (2) The United States Information Service's chain of offices provides reading rooms, film rental service and regional language press release service that is highly commendable. (3) The Voice of America Hindi broadcasts may not be perfect, but they are effective and do get through. (4) The culmination of two hundred years of Christian Mission enterprise cannot be easily by-passed. (5) Indian leaders are increasingly aware that the anti-American line is Moscow inspired. (6) The work of the voluntary relief agencies during the post-partition riots brought a new understanding of America's humanitarian motives. (7) The work and influence of such agencies as the Watumull Foundation, Meals-for-Millions Foundation, Golden Rule Foundation, Tolstoy Foundation, Ford

Foundation, Rockefeller Foundation, Rotary International exchange student scheme, etc., brought doubters to see that private agencies existed to foster good will in variant forms. (8) The wheat loan Technical Cooperation Program Agreement and the Indo-American Agreement brought volume aid to India's masses; and (9) the quality of men sent out under the Point IV program demonstrated that America possessed men eager to understand India's ancient ills, appreciate her ample culture and work with untiring devotion to solve the problems which hinder the successful completion of India's Five-Year Plan.<sup>75</sup>

### Honeymoon?

Knowing well the strong emotional streak in Uncle Sam's nature, many informed Indian leaders are, however, fearful of the suggestion that the improved Indo-American relations of 1952 ushered in a "honeymoon period." After the long grim months of Congressional debate over "wheat for India," shrewd leaders asked if a less emotional but more businesslike tie might not be wiser! We cannot "buy friends." Our reason for helping another country must revolve around our neighbor's needs and our own abundance. India did not request wheat out of sentiment. There are millions to feed. Because India's food needs are cruel—a matter of life or death—the possibility of a post-honeymoon disillusionment cannot be treated lightly. It was encouraging to see American public opinion swinging from "ore for our wheat" to a realization that India must be helped out of her present difficulty in the interest of world order and economy. If India's 360 million people collapse, then this defeated one fifth of the human race will drag the other four fifths with it. The tides in Bombay harbor lift all the vessels, from the country boat to the luxury liner. President

Truman sensed this when he said to Congress: "The whole future of India as a free nation may well be in her ability to raise her food production and do it quickly!"

### Foreign Missions in India

It is easy to underestimate the influence of more than a century of foreign missions in India for they have pioneered in the services now being projected on a vast scale by the technical assistance program of the Government and by such organizations as UNESCO, WHO and FAO. The resources of the Christian missionary enterprise are considerable. There are 4,313 foreign missionaries in India who are associated with 47,814 national workers. There are 148,300 students in 448 mission high schools and 22,027 students in forty colleges. Two hundred seventy-four hospitals treat 295,329 patients. These men and women know the language, costume and culture of the people and many have made considerable contribution to anthropological studies. They work as doctors, nurses, teachers, sanitary engineers, architects, agriculturists, home economists, social welfare workers, preachers, etc. They may maintain village schools, high schools, colleges, farms, shops, hospitals, ashrams, rural centers and teacher-training institutions.

Under internationally known Dr. Frank C. Laubach, charts have been produced to teach adult illiterates to read after an accelerated course of three months. He was in India during 1952-1953 working closely with the Government. His slogan, "Each one teach one," has caught the imagination of all sections of the Indian public and there is a new urge to learn to read. Dr. E. Stanley Jones has opened a pioneering psychiatric institute with a Swedish woman doctor at its head. Three American experts are pioneering in the production of audio-visual aids. The missionary

cutting edge has been centered on the underdeveloped areas where Point IV is now at work with ample funds. The government worker will find thousands of village churches and twelve million Indian Christians who have had a taste of better seeds, plows, medicines, food, house plans, sanitation, village planning, civic duty and intercommunity co-operation. This is too valued a cultural bridge to ignore.

The Agricultural Institute at Allahabad, U. P., is a notable example of a Christian college of agriculture in India. It has a student body of six hundred and is co-educational. It has designed small farm implements (including two types of plows), cultivators, hoes, sickles, grain seeders and a fan mill—all adopted to Indian village conditions.

Scores of examples could be cited where mission projects have been geared to nation-building activities and have had a share in bridging the Indo-American gap.

### That Wheat Debate

India's resentment did not diminish during the session of the 82nd Congress when months of debate among congressional leaders over the India Grain Loan Act held up tons of wheat while millions starved. It was unfortunate that during this time Russia made a token presentation of fifty thousand tons of grain which India reporters described with devastating truthfulness as a "crust of aid for a loaf of credit." In all this debate, India's position and Prime Minister Nehru's in particular had been under criticism. He simply declared that India would not accept food from any country if there were "any political strings attached to it." Some congressional leaders would have "manganese and monazite for wheat" as their platform, but wise opinion prevailed and the appropriation of \$190,000,000 enabling

India to buy two million tons of food grain, mostly wheat, became a law June 15, 1951, with a 255 "yea" and a 82 "nay" vote.

### India's Foreign Policy

Since so much of Indo-American contacts revolve around inter-government policy, let us now turn to India and consider her foreign policy. Basically, India, having obtained her freedom after a long and costly struggle, is determined to defend it at all costs. That includes an army, navy and air force. Because of an ancient tradition of tolerance, "India has consistently pursued a policy of friendship with every nation," stated President Rajendra Prasad in an address to the Indian Parliament. He went on to say that his policy, "sometimes misunderstood, has been progressively appreciated by others and is yielding fruit." Her foreign policy can be reduced to four pillars: (1) India wants world peace; (2) she believes in freedom for subject people; (3) she believes in action through the United Nations; and (4) does not intend to align herself with any major nation or power bloc, but judge each problem on its merits from her independent base. Since the application of these principles fall to Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru, let us see how they work and in the everyday arena of foreign affairs.

What of India and Korea? Sir Benegal Narsing Rau, delegate from India to the United Nations, said: "On Korea, I outlined India's position in a speech in the General Assembly early in October, in which I stressed that on two main objectives—and they were the most important ones—there was complete unanimity in the U.N.: namely, (1) the creation of an independent and unified Korea by means of free elections, and (2) the economic rehabilitation of the

country. India was anxious that before the U.N. forces advanced beyond the 38th Parallel, this unanimous declaration should be made to the North Korean forces, in the most impressive form possible, as an appeal for cessation of hostilities. Such an appeal might conceivably have persuaded the aggressors to see reason in the hour of their defeat and thus ended the conflict. In any event, if an advance into North Korea had subsequently become necessary, it could have been undertaken with unassailable justification that the aggressors left no other choice to the U.N. forces."

India's fears which she had expressed at that time, namely, that an advance into North Korea without the pause we had suggested for reflection might bring the Peking government into the conflict, seem unfortunately to be coming true, if the latest reports from the Far East are authentic.

Considering India and Tibet, Sir B. N. Rau continued: "And there has been a spread of the spirit of aggression in another quarter. India has observed with 'surprise and regret,' as the official communique recently phrased it, the march of Chinese troops last week into Tibet. It is difficult to comment in the absence of full details on the implications of this coup. The government of India has taken a serious view of what seems to be a violation of an assurance given by China that negotiations with Tibet would be on a peaceful basis. How far this step was decided on as a device for 'saving face' internally, to cover the discomfiture over the turn of events in Korea, it is idle to conjecture. Equally, it is a matter for speculation whether the new government of China would have dared to adopt this policy in regard to Tibet if she had been a member of the U.N. and brought into immediate and direct contact with world opinion as expressed in the General Assembly."



India's position on China and that of the United States differs. Let us hear India speak: "In regard to the admission of the new Chinese government into the U.N., India's line has been consistent from the start of this controversy. We do not believe in the exclusion of any country from the U.N. on grounds which have nothing to do with the principles of the Charter. Our Prime Minister stated in New Delhi two weeks ago that this organization was 'started as a special forum where all nations, even those holding different and contrary views, should meet together and try to find some common ways of action. Any attempt to change the basic provision of the Charter or to exclude any particular nation has far-reaching results and we are opposed to it. The Indian proposal to secure the admission of new China into the U.N., as Mr. Nehru pointed out in the same statement, was merely 'a recognition of a stark reality,' and 'had nothing to do with our approval of any policies.' Having abolished untouchability in the domestic sphere, India will not be a party to its practice in the international world."

Perhaps American challenge of India is most intense at the point of India's position in the "cold war." What does India say? "The question is: where does India stand at the present moment in the 'cold war' between East and West? We have striven from the beginning of the U.N. to tackle each problem on its merits; and we have not hesitated to record our vote according to our assessment of such merits. Sometimes it has been a difficult decision for India since it has meant being in a minority, perhaps even a small minority.

"There is much talk in the United States today of the interests and the outlook of Asia. It is not possible to reduce the divergencies of the different countries of a vast

continent like Asia to a coherent and intelligible simplicity. Nevertheless, certain outstanding factors, at least in southern and southeastern Asia, have a broadly common basis, and their significance deserves much greater appreciation in this country.

"Since the end of the war, India, Pakistan, Ceylon, Burma, Indonesia and the Philippines have emerged as politically free states, all of which (barring Ceylon, for no fault of hers) are now members of the U.N. Between five hundred and six hundred million dependent peoples, all drawn from one compact region in Asia, have in the course of a very few years achieved their freedom. That is almost a startling fact in contemporary history without parallel in any previous epoch. One consequence is that other Asian peoples not so fortunate as ourselves are acutely impatient today to rid themselves of colonial domination. They need no fresh warning against any type of colonialism that may menace the world. But they ask for understanding and help in hastening their emancipation from existing forms of colonialism."

### India's Economy

It seems clear that Prime Minister Nehru and his Cabinet are determined to steer an economic middle course between the United States and Russia. He knows that if his party remains in power to implement this policy, the basic problems of food, shelter and industrialization must be met. India has examined and rejected communism as the way to utilize her resources, traditions and history to develop a strong independent nation. She has turned to France, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Great Britain and the United States for suggestions and has evolved a "modified capitalism" or "mixed economy" for her economic foundation.

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Since the retention of free enterprise is a basic ingredient in a "mixed economy," this is the introductory substance of the Five-Year Plan which the Planning Commission circulated in July, 1950. The Planning Commission was instructed to formulate a plan for the most balanced utilization of the country's resources.

Under the Five-Year Plan the Government owns and operates a limited number of enterprises such as the manufacture of arms and ammunition, railways, the telegraph system, atomic research, broadcasting, television, some coal mines and salt works. But on the other hand, private enterprise including foreign interests can look to ownership and control of such plantations, industries and services as: tea, coffee, rubber, mica, gold, copper, steel, textiles, cement, sugar, chemicals, newsprint, pharmacy, engineering, building, etc. Just as the United States welcomed European investments during the nineteenth century, so in the twentieth century, foreign investors are encouraged to undertake nation-building approved projects.

### Oil for India

In order to modernize India's economy heavy investment beyond the nation's internal resources or from such bodies as the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development must be found. That means a flow of foreign capital into India which is "welcome."<sup>76</sup> Hence, it is of significance to note that Standard-Vacuum Oil Company and Caltex of the United States and Burmah-Shell of Great Britain are each constructing oil refineries. Take one for example. Agreement was reached in 1951 between Standard-Vacuum Oil Company (a Jersey Standard affiliate) and the Indian Government under which the former agreed to build a \$35 million oil refinery on an island in Bombay

Harbor. This is the largest single investment of American private capital made so far in India.

India has no refining industry of her own and has no oil wells. She has depended upon foreign sources for almost all her oil products. Shortage of foreign exchange, war and the shutdown of the Anglo-Iranian refinery at Abadan, Iran, have dislocated the flow of these vital oil products at various times. When these refineries go into operation, India will depend on the importation of crude oil only, which is available from many world sources.

While the establishment of these refineries will train a number of Indians in skilled technical jobs and increase the tanker traffic into Bombay Harbor, the signal fact to me is that these mutually profitable agreements mark a milestone in Indo-American economic cooperation. What are the terms of agreement? The refinery will be immune from nationalization for at least twenty-five years; there will be no import duty on crude oil; the company will never be required to sell products at a lower price than the import cost of the refined product; and that 75 percent of the stock in common shares will be reserved for the company and the balance offered in cumulative preferred share to Indians. The net result of these assurances was to attract three companies to come to India with foreign funds and provide oil for the wheels of India.

### Foreign Aid

If private enterprise develops in India's "mixed economy," a capitalist class must be permitted to build up factories, mills and warehouses, which would result in the creation of a new group for India; i.e., an industrial working class. The United States is drawn into India's developmental scheme because we are one of the few nations

financially able to offer the capital in the form of loans and machinery that India requires in order to modernize her agriculture and step up industrialization. India lacks capital. Little capital can be obtained from taxation when her per capita income is fifty-four dollars a year. There is a limit to what can be obtained from import-export duty. Deficit budgeting would produce capital, but would also set inflationary currents adrift which would undermine the basic economic structure. Hence, foreign capital remains a real need and India has begun to make it a mutually profitable "business."

A second obstacle to India's technical progress is lack of sufficiently trained technical personnel. Here India and America again impinge, for the Point IV program is India's best means of channeling technical knowledge and trained personnel. Point IV is as President Truman declared on January, 1949, "a bold new program." <sup>77</sup>

To what extent has India accepted foreign aid to accelerate her agricultural and industrial development? (1) Under a December, 1950, Agreement, \$1,200,000 was provided for technical aid. (2) In addition to the \$54 million aid under a January, 1952, Indo-American Agreement, the United States made a \$190 million wheat loan in 1951. (3) The World Bank has made three loans totalling \$62½ million: (a) \$34 million August, 1949, to modernize railroads; (b) \$10 million September, 1949, to purchase tractors, etc., to clear land of the deadly *kans* grass; and (c) \$18½ million April, 1950, for the Damadar River Valley Scheme modeled after TVA. (4) The Ford Foundation granted \$1,870,000 for pilot extension projects and centers for training key personnel. (5) Under the 1950 Columbo Plan of Commonwealth Nation, \$28 million was earmarked for irrigation and scientific projects. (6) In

addition, we should remember the aid of voluntary agencies such as: FAO, WHO, International Labor Organization, UNESCO, Church World Service, CARE, CROP, Rotary International, Meals for Millions, Tolstoy Foundation, Watumull Foundation, etc.

The significant fact is that India has accepted considerable aid from the West and is voluntarily coming into the orbit of the democratic nations. But India cannot be bought. Gifts and loans to India are accepted on the understanding that there are no strings attached and are to be used to strengthen her basic economy and democratic structure. The temptation to label India "communist" each time she does not vote with us must be resisted. A study of U.N. voting by India and the United States shows forty-nine votes "with us" and only four votes "against us." Who respects a "Yes man?" We admire India's independence. After sixty-five lectures in twenty-three states during 1952, the question most frequently asked was: "When will Nehru quit playing footsy with the communists?" That this was asked so widely proved to me it was a live question among international relations and lecture groups. But where did this arise? I was able to convince most groups that being "independent" and a "communist" are not synonymous. India and the United States have a unity of purpose although our views may not always be identical. This should strengthen the deep ties of friendship between us.

We can help improve Indo-American relations by remembering that India's Himalayan frontier is contiguous with Russian dominated lands. India is close to Russia and realizes the fate of China, Tibet and Sinkiang. She knows that Russia is disturbed by the growth of foreign capital and aid to India. It can be taken for granted that Russia will not rejoice in the completion of India's Five-Year Plan with



agricultural, industrial and cultural development. Who can predict when the mounting Russo-Chinese military pressure will burst through the Himalayan passes and engulf India! Note the unrest in Sikkim, Nepal and along the Indo-Burmese border. This must and can be accepted that as India grows strong, Russia will be compelled to take a hostile line toward Nehru and the Congress Party under whom such volumes of aid flowed from European and North American governments. There will be an ultimate struggle between democracy and communism in India just as there will be an ultimate struggle in the world. But let us take courage as we re-read Nehru's October, 1952 challenge to the communists of Telegano in Hyderabad, who after three years of "armed rebellion" and "atrocities" offered to surrender their arms on "certain conditions." The Prime Minister said: "There will be no compromises with the Reds. Violence will be met with force." These are brave words.

### India and the United Nations

Among the main objectives of India's foreign policy is the pursuit of peace. In the course of her long history India has never made attempts to dominate or enslave other countries. India believes that war as a method of settling disputes is unjust. Victory in a war fails to attain the real objective of fighting it—the attainment of peace. Such was the doctrine preached by Mahatma Gandhi.

India is conscious that the United Nations Organization with all its faults makes for the widest cooperation among peace-loving nations for the attainment of international security and for the promotion of a new order of social justice. Even in conflicts among dominant members that have hampered its effectiveness, the UNO has assembled in

debate persons and nations holding widely divergent views and tried to promote the growth of a common outlook. Convinced that it is the greatest single factor in the world today endeavoring toward the establishment of universal peace and security and world-wide social reconstruction, India adheres to the spirit and letter of the Charter of the United Nations and gives it her whole-hearted support.<sup>78</sup>

At a meeting of the Nations at San Francisco in 1945, India, not yet free herself, was eloquent in the defense of human rights that led to the insertion of clause 3 of Article I, the famous phrase "and in promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion." At San Francisco, and at London the following year, India took an active part in the work of the Preparatory Commission, being instrumental in the early setting up and implementation of the Trusteeship Council and its integration with the Economic and Social Council.

India attended the New York session of the General Assembly in October, 1946, as an independent nation. The leader of the India Delegation, Shrimati V. L. Pandit, declared the free and uncoerced position of her group, saying in part: "Our organization, the United Nations, has no 'ism' of its own; it embraces all isms and ideologies. It embraces all civilizations of the West and of the East; its principles cannot be said to derive exclusively from either or any of the contending doctrines. . . ."

In the repeated impasses on the admission of new members, India consistently has supported the view that only the qualifications for membership laid down in Article 4 of the Charter should receive consideration. On these bases, that the applicant state should be peace-loving and that it should be able and willing to carry out its obligations to the

Organization, India recommended the admission of Eire, Transjordan, Albania, and Outer Mongolia, but opposed the admission of Portugal. In the debate on Spain, India agreed to support any measure which would effectively help the Spanish people to shake off the Franco regime.

India's attitude toward the Veto has been that though an anachronism in a democratic assembly, it is essentially a reflection of the tension which prevails in the international sphere. The more that tension is eased, the less the Veto will be used. What is needed is not to restrict the area of the Veto but to regulate its use; and that is a matter for the Big Five themselves to consider. In a related field, contrary to opposition from the U.S.S.R., India favored the establishment of an Interim Committee to expedite the work of the General Assembly.

The controversial question of control of atomic energy and disarmament shows India's typical position. Her constant endeavor has been to find the greatest common measure of agreement between the views expressed on the opposing sides and to frame a resolution which would give effect to ideas on which both were in agreement. That there has as yet been no success has not discouraged her in the attempt.

It is in the field of minority and territorial rights that India has been most active. As a member of the Palestine Commission, she signed the Minority Report which suggested a Federal Government for Palestine. Though fully sympathetic with the imperative needs of the Jews for a homeland, she voted against the partition forced on the unwilling Arab majority. Nevertheless, when the logic of events made the State of Israel an accomplished fact, India was among the first to welcome her as a member of the U.N.

On the problem of Indonesia's struggle for freedom,

India together with Australia carried the matter to both the Security Council and the General Assembly and assisted at every point to carry Indonesia's case to a favorable conclusion.

India's faith in the U.N. has been demonstrated most clearly in the Kashmir dispute. Possessing what she considered incontrovertible factual evidence of Pakistan's aid to tribal aggression and holding a favorable military position, she nevertheless took the matter to the Security Council and asked for a plebiscite of Kashmir's inhabitants under international auspices.

In Korea India unhesitatingly joined other powers in supporting the U.N. resolution to declare North Korea an aggressor. But she counseled patience and the pursuit of peaceful methods once the 38th Parallel was reached. Knowing the mind of New China as she did, she was opposed to carrying the war to the Manchurian border. The results of disregarding India's counsel are well known; India's position has been thoroughly vindicated, but she has not slackened her efforts toward securing a peaceful solution to the problem.

In his address at Columbia University on October 17, 1949, the Prime Minister of India defined the main objectives of the foreign policy of India to be "the pursuit of peace, not through alignment with any major Power or group of Powers, but through an independent approach to each controversial or disputed issue; the liberation of subject peoples; maintenance of freedom both national and individual; the elimination of racial discrimination; and the elimination of want, disease and ignorance which afflict the greater part of the world's population."

## CHAPTER X

### Community Development Projects (1952)

#### Miracles Are Possible

FIFTY-FIVE RURAL COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS RECEIVED the "green light" from the Indian Government on October 2, 1952, the anniversary of Mahatma Gandhi's 83rd birthday. Progress at the grass roots is the keynote of this scheme, which aided by United States funds, aims to make the village a better place to live. Yes, while we talk of Five-Year Plans, commonwealth schemes and jet planes that swish from London to India in sixteen hours, we should remember that India is a land of 700,000 villages; and that the final vote for or against democracy will be cast by the almost forgotten loin-cloth clad villager. With food desperately needed, he still operates his tiny fields by pre-modern methods. Watch the golden pile of Kansas wheat after the harvest and then realize that the average farmer in India produces only 30 percent more grain than he consumes for cash sale. With this meager income there is little purchasing power for improved seeds and better tools. The Indian farmer is desperately poor and possesses a scant knowledge of modern agricultural procedure. But that the Indian farmer can work miracles has been demonstrated by refugees at Faridabad and by conservative peasants at Etawah who adopted new methods they could see would benefit them and their families.<sup>78</sup>

When I discussed India's backwardness with Dr. K. M. Munshi, he reminded me that India fell behind Western nations in technical progress under foreign rule, but was

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determined to modernize the farm and factory. There are two major obstacles: (1) lack of capital and (2) lack of adequate technical skill. The Point IV program of the United States is helping to meet these needs. India's willingness to accept the help of others is not a sign of dependence, but of her independence. India knows that every country is depending upon others and those willing and able to profit from the experiences of others are the hopeful ones.

### Community Development Projects

The Community Development Project scheme took form after Prime Minister Nehru and Ambassador Chester Bowles signed an Agreement setting up the Indo-American Technical Corporation. Fifty-five areas each with three hundred villages and a population of 200,000 will touch a total of ten million people in sixteen thousand villages.

What are the objectives? The aim is to supply the people with the necessities of life and provide a decent standard of living. Land will be reclaimed, new wells dug, better seeds distributed, marketing facilities increased and an agricultural extension service instituted. There will be free schools, libraries, cottage industries and hospitals. The challenging fact is that this is not a paper dream. It has been demonstrated on a pilot project in a group of villages near Etawah twenty miles from the Taj Mahal in Agra, under the direction of a former Tennessee County Agent—Horace Holmes.

### Meet Horace Holmes

They say the Etawah project is a miracle. When food grains were being shipped to India and millions were hungry, a group of Indian farmers doubled their wheat crop. Vegetables and potatoes were the best in the villager's memory. What caused this abundant harvest in a land of hunger?

A county agent using recognized extension methods with a team of cooperative farmers persuaded them to study, work, plant and finally harvest in a scientific manner. This is routine for Colorado or Iowa, but a miracle producer in India. If this could work in Etawah, it could work on a national scale! Thanks to technical aid and capital, India's war on food shortage took on nation-wide dimensions.

I was privileged to live in Lucknow and see Horace Holmes at work. Later I watched his expanded work in New Delhi. Because so much that is important in North India stems from this Point IV pioneer, let's take a look at Horace Holmes.

Holmes is the Chief of the Agricultural Group of United States' Point IV Program in India and works at his job with a zeal one associates with a high mission. He believes deeply that "there is a common bond between men of the soil all over the world" and that they can be stimulated to produce more food when they see and understand new methods. Communism, he believes, is often led by frustrated middle-class intellectuals who have never known hand toil or hunger, but who stir up the impoverished peasant masses. "If democracy is to survive in India" contends this soft-spoken Tennessean, "millions of Indian farmers must be inspired with a new dynamic faith that democracy is able to meet their everyday needs."

He is not academic in approach because he is a child of the farm. Born on a Tennessee farm nine miles from Whiteville near Memphis, he spent his boyhood amid corn and cotton fields. No consolidated school bus carried Horace to school: he rode a pony each day. He knew the sort of farm and small town life that has enriched America with its sense of community, church and family pride, a feeling of individual worth from which a stream of men and women

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have gone into all the world to preach or teach or heal or govern.

### China to India

After the war, Holmes worked in China under the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation administration until internal chaos made constructive agricultural extension impossible. Normally he would have returned to the United States, but an offer came to go to India and apply his county agent technique in another Asian land. He was challenged by the prospect of making science work for man and become a tool for the liberation of backward people. More than once people have asked Holmes why he went to India, but they receive a personal reply: "I have four sons. There are 360 million people in India. I would rather have them with us than against us."

Prime Minister Nehru became interested in city planning toward the close of the war as it was presented to him by an American army officer. Experts arrived and large-scale studies were made of cities such as Kanpur and Agra. But during 1947 Mr. Nehru began to say that city planning would benefit a very few because 85 percent of the people lived in rural villages. He began to search for an agricultural technician from the United States who knew conditions in Asia. Horace Holmes, the "county agent" with farm extension experience in China, was suggested. In every case of the right man for the right job it is helpful to see how they arrived. What influences led Horace Holmes to his gracious home on Mall Avenue, Lucknow? When he was a student at the University of Tennessee, he was influenced by the work of Dr. George W. Warren of Cornell University. Warren, who became widely known for the work he did for President Franklin D. Roosevelt, was a farm market-



ing and management authority. It was natural for Holmes to go to Cornell for graduate study and tell Dr. Warren, "I would have gone to India if you had been there!" But it was he who was to go to India and transplant many of Warren's fertile ideas to the rich soil of the Gangetic Valley where they blossomed and grew a hundredfold.

The Holmes family arrived in India in the spring of 1948 and lived in Lucknow in Uttar Pradesh, where Horace worked for the Government of the U. P. Premier Govind Balabhai Pant, a giant in the struggle for freedom and possessed of contagious charm and wide learning, was his chief. Holmes made a survey of existing agriculture conditions and chose an area of one hundred square miles near Etawah for the pilot project. The project includes ninety-seven villages with approximately 79,000 people. There are fifty-two village councils and seven cooperative unions. Twenty-four trained workers live with the village people.

### Don't Hit the Holy Cow

Because he came with a deep respect for the people and their culture, he always tried to avoid offense. Most leaders encounter the "sacred cow" on the first hour of work. Whether it is fuel, fertilizer, plowing, grass lands, gardens, flaying of hides or milk production, they bump into the "holy cow." "Shoot them all," hastily exclaim many sincere agriculturalists from the West. "Drive around them," said Holmes, "we must find solutions that will not clash with this basic religious tenet." When the "roll right over them" technique was substituted by "drive around them," people responded with alacrity and Holmes made progress.

Holmes did not push the farmers of Etawah, but worked with them until a few agreed to try an improved wheat—Punjab 591—developed at the Punjab Experimental

Station. When the wheat had been harvested, weighed, measured and discussed, the new variety had produced 43 percent over the old indigenous strain. Soon all the farmers were sowing Punjab 591. Potato crops increased from 119 bushels per acre to 235.

Because 70 percent of the people of India are Hindus, their religion permeates all the land and conditions much of the thinking. Holmes bumped into this wall of religion very soon, but fortunately discovered in a co-worker, Bijnath Singh, a farm lecturer at Benares University, a young man who was deeply concerned with the Indian farmer's reluctance to try new methods. The Indian farmer has been at this work for generations and has gambled on new methods, failed before, lost heavily and has developed an immunity to hastily conceived innovations. He has lived with famine just around the corner so long, he cannot take a chance with the unknown. Bijnath Singh began a study of his Hindu scriptures to find religious reasons for trying new methods which otherwise the farmer would not have tried.

There came an opportunity to test this when Holmes demonstrated the value of turning under native legumes—*dhenicq*, *moong*, *sinai*—to enrich the soil and get the maximum benefit from green fertilizer. With their long-schooled belief in the sacredness of life, they said, "It will kill the plants and that would be taking life which we are forbidden to do." Then Bijnath Singh turned to the Vedic Laws and said that the villagers were right, but that the same laws stated that the householder's first obligation was to feed himself, his bullocks and his family. Therefore, man has a choice between two evils and plowing under the green legumes in order to feed his family is the lesser of the two.

## Sickle Versus Scythe

Holmes led the farmers in his test area from soil and seed experiments to projects in improved tools. Here the American agriculturalist must tread as softly as a cat because his tendency is to equate "improved tools" with "mechanized equipment." Improved tools do not necessarily imply power driven equipment. The Food Agriculture Organization (FAO) team from United Nations who resided in Lucknow were largely from European countries where hand tools play a large role in modern agriculture. They demonstrated that a scythe could cut sixteen times as much wheat per day as a sickle. Here was no contest against an expensive Western threshing outfit. It was scythe versus sickle. But many even said, "India is not ready for scythe harvesting; therefore, let us experiment with a better quality sickle." The presence of Danish, Swiss and Norwegian experts has done much to curb the American inclination to suggest that if a sickle is obsolete, a gasoline driven tractor is the answer. Holmes belongs to the school of simple, inexpensive, improved tools to fit the fields and economy of the people and herein lies much of the success of his pilot project. Pick up a back copy of *Life* magazine and see the two-page spread of the Holmes harrow and other threshing devices.

India, this land of farms, fields and innumerable bullocks, is a land of the plow. What a controversial subject! I remember the reactions to the CARE plow which I distributed to farmers all over North India during the spring of 1952, thanks to the generosity of the CARE Mission in New Delhi. There were immediate reactions. "It is too heavy for our bullocks." "This plow has two handles. How will we hold the plow and also the reins?" (The Indian plow

has one handle: one hand for rein.) This much is agreed that the traditional pointed stick could be improved. Several schools have developed improved plows which they are demonstrating on a limited basis. Holmes demonstrated a small turning plow (*gurya*) on the Mahewa fields and this model has become increasingly popular.

Holmes believes that any method which is introduced must be adaptable "here and now" because the Indian farmer is desperately poor and cannot afford long-range experiments. If he loses one harvest through trying a half-baked "experts" idea, it means hunger and perhaps starvation. The improved equipment must be constructed from indigenous materials which are near at hand. Lastly, there is a place for Government enterprise to undergird village programs. An example is the effort to induce the villagers to use cow dung for fertilizer instead of drying it and using it for fuel in the form of dung cakes. The Government introduced a fast-growing tree which can become fuel and thus put an end to the age-long waste of valuable fertilizer. It is to the Government's benefit to appropriate large sums for reforestation and enable the farmer to make a change which will be simple and inexpensive, yet at the same time, beneficial.

It is not difficult to see that this creative work begun in Etawah under the United Provinces could not be contained, so in 1950 Holmes began an All-India work under the American Point IV Program in cooperation with the Government of India. This step from "state to federal" government level, to use familiar American terminology, was encouraged by the same dynamic official who did so much to facilitate the flow of relief supplies, Dr. K. M. Munshi, the Minister of Agriculture under whom was the Ministry of Food.<sup>80</sup> Mr. Munshi has driven himself and his colleagues

by the deep conviction that India's millions can obtain food self-sufficiency and thus economic independence.

### County Agents Afoot

The success of the Etawah project and two refugee projects at Nilokheri and Faridabad suggested to the Indian officials that the people of India would not be content with three successful pilot projects, but would demand multiplication a thousandfold. If one county agent can do so much, why not fifty? Horace Holmes flew home and assisted in picking forty-four experienced county agents who were willing to go to India with their families on short-term contracts to help India make good her Five-Year Plan and specifically help in the mobilization of the total resources of the country and help the masses free themselves from the grip of illiteracy, ignorance, disease and famine. They came from Texas, Michigan, Iowa, Louisiana, New York—many states—and from their arrival plunged into surveys, field trips, conferences and pilot projects. There was no "state department" stuffiness about these extension workers who strode across the fields, forded streams, lived in the villages, shared simple meals and made themselves one with the farmers of India.

Fifty-five development areas have been selected for this program made possible through the \$54 million dollar grant under the Indo-American Technical Corporation and Agricultural specialists.<sup>81</sup> The development areas will first stress agriculture. This will include reclamation of waste land; provision of better seeds; improved agricultural techniques and implements; provision of marketing facilities; breeding centers for animal husbandry; and adequate irrigation facilities by means of canals, surface wells, tanks and lakes. Included also is the development of inland fisheries, fruit

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and vegetable cultivation, soil research, provision of manures and planting of forests.

What is the pattern of these new community projects? The basic emphasis is on increasing the productivity of the land in order to win the battle for food self-sufficiency. Related to this all-out effort is the development of cottage and small-scale industries, education and technical training, improvement of health and betterment of housing.

With a view to tackle the age-long handicap of 85 per cent illiteracy both adult education and village schools are fundamental ingredients. At Etawah there are thirty literary centers in the ninety-seven villages. Field libraries, reading rooms, training camps and a newspaper are provided. The fortnightly newspaper in Hindi has a paid circulation of 1,300. It gives news on crops, tillage and local events. The editor receives over one hundred letters a month which demonstrates a lively reading public in a community where nine out of ten are now illiterate.

In addition to the fifty-five community projects of three hundred villages each to affect sixteen million people, there are additional activities under the American Aid Agreement: (1) Iron and Steel: Provision for 55,000 long tons of iron and steel—39,000 for use by farmers and blacksmiths, 16,000 for factory production of farm implements. (2) Fertilizer: New and additional sources will be tapped. (3) Locust Control: Three spraying planes will spray 72,000 acres in the late summer and fall when the locusts are at their worst. Additional equipment will include seventy-five light vehicles and power sprays and eight wireless radio sets. (4) Marine Fisheries: These will be expanded and modernized. (5) Tube Wells: Two thousand wells are scheduled for construction within two years. (6) Soil research: Soil testing and the testing of various fertilizers will be an im-

portant part of this research and (7) Training centers: Twenty-five centers will train workers who will implement the development program. The Ford Foundation has helped establish five of these.

### **Bold Program**

Lest it be thought that India's projects are confined solely to the farm, it is well to note there are many projects under the total Indo-American Agreement. Emphasis will also be given to the following: 1. Communications: Provisions here are made for road construction, mechanical road transport services and the development of existing animal transport. 2. Education: This covers compulsory and free elementary education by 1965, an adequate number of high schools, social education, library services and the promotion of adult literacy. 3. Health: Steps will be taken to improve public health by providing maternal and child care, general medical aid, sanitation and hygiene education. 4. Training: This will be given to agriculturists, extension assistants, supervisors, health workers and executive officers for the projects. 5. Employment: It will be created through the encouragement of cottage and small-scale industries, and in the planned distribution of personnel in trade and auxiliary services. 6. Housing: Improved techniques and design will be used for housing in rural and urban areas. 7. Social Welfare: This will cover the development of a welfare center for counseling and guidance and for group recreational purposes, i.e., drama, handicrafts, sports, etc.

### **Project Organization**

Although the specific physical setup and particular activities of the projects will arise from the situation peculiar to each area, general broad outlines of organization have

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been decided. Each project area will comprise about three hundred villages with a total population of about 200,000 and will be divided into three development blocks of one hundred villages each. This block will constitute a district within the existing framework of the state and is expected to result eventually in integrating the activities of rural and urban areas.

The smallest and the most important unit will be the village. Consisting of approximately one hundred families, all the activities—agriculture, industrial, educational and welfare—will have their beginnings here. The needs of each village, seen in relation to the project as a whole, will be assessed and work conducted on all levels to meet them.

The existing machinery of government will be fully utilized in administering the program. The guiding Federal committee will be composed of members of the Planning Commission with the Prime Minister as chairman. The Chief Executive Officer will be the actual administrator advised by members selected from the central government. He will be assisted by a team of experts.

### Democracy at Work

Much emphasis has been placed on volunteer participation in the program. In this regard the *Bharat Sevak Samaj*, an organization for nation-wide volunteer service, has been formed to encourage citizen participation in the scheme.

Prime Minister Nehru explained the purpose of this organization at its inception: "We must function as comrades in a common task, as partners in a joint undertaking . . . with the intense desire to bring about with our common labor that joint effort which can shake and break up a mountain of inertia.

"The proposal to start an organization to be called the



*Bharat Sevak Samaj* has this in view. It is an ambitious task and we want men and women with high ambition for it—not the ambition for the little and personal things of life, but the ambition to serve great causes, forgetting oneself, and achieve great ends.”

To guard against rigidity, a program of evaluation of the projects has been set up to continually evaluate progress and results. Systematic evaluation and adequate statistics and other information will be made available to personnel for use in the improvement of the program. At the start nineteen project areas will be used as models where the constant evaluation process will be practiced. Assistance in this instance is being given by the Ford Foundation through an agreement concluded with the Indian Government. Ford Foundation will provide \$230 thousand for a three-year program of work.

As the scheme progresses, the villager will realize that democratic government means friendly assistance with an absence of compulsion. He will learn that the focus is on him, that his counsels are heeded and that in the end, he is the architect of his future. He will understand that on him largely depends the success of the scheme—and that the final pattern of his life will be determined by himself, by the spare time, the surplus earnings and the active interest he can devote to his own betterment. The community development program is a manifestation of India's faith in the workings of a democratic government.

America can be proud of her small share in this colossal task.

#### Point IV

This is being written during election year and there has been expressed the fear that United States aid to Asia 1952-

53 will be cut. Such measures were criticized by Averell Harriman, Director for Mutual Security, May 27: "I cannot believe that the American people want to barter their security for phony economy. It is phony economy to vote against funds which enable our allies to raise forces and make their own weapons when the result would be either much less security or much larger funds for supplying our allies with U. S. manufactured weapons. It is phony economy to vote against funds to combat hunger and ignorance and disease in free Asia when the result would be to make that vast area a prey to the subversion which has already cut off a great part of Asia from the free world. It is phony economy to vote against funds which help to equip staunch allies who will fight beside our sons if real trouble comes, when the alternative is to run the risk of letting our sons fight alone. It is phony economy to vote against funds which will be used to forestall aggression when the alternative is to run the risk of later having to vote hundreds of billions to fight a war against aggression."

The objective of the Point IV program is to help these people free themselves from the slavery of hunger, illiteracy and disease. That is why the shirt-sleeved diplomats of Point IV are bringing to the people of forty countries the benefits of American knowledge and technical skills. They are showing them how to stamp out diseases which have plagued them for centuries, showing them how to double their food production.

But the Point IV program is more than a device to keep people from turning to communism. It is enlightened self-interest. The future welfare of this country directly depends on what happens in the underdeveloped areas of the world. We have to have raw materials from these areas to keep our economy going.

As our industrial production expands, we will need more and more of these raw materials. To have an expanding economy at home there must be an expanding economy in the free world. Congressional budget-pinching and decreased aid for India in these crucial years will make only one group happy: India's Communist Party. The success of the community development projects depend largely upon American aid.

### **India's Five-Year Plan**

In the Directive Principles of State Policy as founded in the Indian Constitution, it is enjoined that the State shall strive to promote the welfare of the people by securing and protecting a social order in which justice will be assured for all. With this objective in mind, the Planning Commission was set up in 1950 and produced the document known as the Five-Year Plan. This was a major event, not only for the friends of India, but also for everyone concerned with Point IV and underdeveloped countries. The Plan first, deals with the three most urgent problems of the day (food shortage, the shortage of raw materials for India's industries and the problem of inflation) and to lay the foundation for dealing with long-range problems.

Americans will be happy to know that our Point IV aid is being used within India's own Five-Year-Plan framework. Our many projects fit into India's grand scheme and there is no risk of duplication because of India's International Aid Cooperation Unit to coordinate assistance being given by many foreign nations and their volunteer agencies.

But why should America be concerned with the problems of the Indian village? "Let them keep their lame goat, wood plow and superstitions," you say. Let's hear what Ambassador Chester Bowles says: "I can suggest many rea-

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sons. One, because we have a natural desire to help all decent people who believe in freedom and the dignity of the individual. Two, because our forefathers in the early days of our country learned that they could survive only by the good-neighbourly give-and-take spirit which characterizes the American tradition. What was true on the American frontier two centuries ago applies today on the frontiers of the free world. Three, because we have learned from experience that tanks and machine guns are not the most effective weapons in fighting communism.

"... We must never lose sight of the fact that when we deal with India, we are dealing with an Asian country. By shirking the difficult task of recognizing India as a part of Asia and thus refusing to recognize the realities of 1952, the free nations will surely alienate all of Asia and, perhaps, even bring about their own downfall.

"The rest depends largely on India. As I said before, I am an optimist: I believe India will meet the challenge. The next five years may tell the story and everyone who believes in human freedom and the ultimate dignity of man will be affected by the outcome."

## CHAPTER XI

### Will India Go Communist?

MUCH HAS BEEN SAID ON INDIA'S CREDIT SIDE. BUT THERE ARE seething problems which must not remain obscure. The one-party rule is not a healthy political situation and the Congress Party, too prone to live off its reputation, has no "loyal opposition" worthy of the name. It is frankly tragic when the vote must be cast for "Congress" or "Communist." There is a distressing measure of corruption. The lack of discipline is evidenced in student strikes and college conduct. Poverty, illiteracy and disease are retarding factors. Refugees, food and defense are crushing obligations. We do not dwell on these, but need be aware of their existence for they condition India's internal conduct and influence her foreign policy which therefore touches us.

#### "I'll Walk Alone"

Why does India step in between Russia and the United States? India believes that a World War III between Soviet Russia and the West would leave all the world culturally barren and physically wrecked. She does not want to be dragged down just when she has emerged from colonial subjection. If India is to make progress against her admitted problems, there must be world peace. Her Five-Year Plan can succeed only in a stable world. It is out of this central idea that India's non-alignment policy stems. India does not want to be aligned with either the United States or Russia. She wants to be independent. Does this mean India is inclined toward communism? Not at all. Her constitution; the 1952 address of President Rajendra Prasad; the 1952

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Report of the Working Committee of the All-India Congress Party; the acceptance of foreign aid from Western democracies; and India's support of the United Nations are a few, but powerful indications that India is resolved to preserve her hard-won position as a sovereign democratic republic. "I'll Walk Alone," she sings.

But India, treading softly through the grace acquired by centuries of adroitness, is aware of the presence of a violent and disruptive Communist Party and a Soviet World Plan. India should know because her jails are full of communists who are detained because of their anti-government atrocities. One might add, but it is unnecessary after January 20, 1953, "Would that Washington was as alert and firm."

### Communist Election Gains

A major surprise of the first general election in India was the victory of the communists in Madras, Travancore-Cochin, West Bengal and Tripura. Three main parties campaigned. The Socialist Party did not promise economic relief and won few votes. The Congress Party was returned to power for another five years largely on: (1) the personal influence of energetic campaigner Pandit Nehru and (2) the bold economic program embodied in the Five-Year Plan. The Communists used their standard technique of making attractive appeals in distress areas promising "good times" if they won.

It is significant that the Communist Party won votes in those areas where the rains have failed five long years, there is food shortage and agricultural dislocation. The poverty, population pressure and food shortage is being exploited cleverly by the communists. The communists won 13.6 percent of the seats in Madras, 15.9 in West Bengal, 23.4 in Hyderabad, 29.8 in Travancore-Cochin and 41 percent

in Tripura. These are facts packed with surprise and dynamite.<sup>82</sup>

The Government of India has taken a firm hand wherever communism has arisen because its subversive activities have menaced the peace and development of the State. One had only to read the newspapers from 1947 to 1952 to follow the orgy of murder, loot, arson and sabotage in the name of "saving the working class." Communist crimes committed in Madras State can be read in an official booklet, "On the Red Trail."<sup>83</sup> The series of train wrecks due to sabotage reached a climax in the Calcutta Mail disaster at Sulpurpetta on the night of March 3, 1950, a major disaster of recent times. But the people and Government are incensed at this flagrant disregard for life and open revolt against organized society.

### Socialists Denounce Communists

Sri Jaiprakash Narain, leader of the Socialist Party, denounced the communist way in these words: "This method is bound to fail; because Republican India is not only different from Czarist Russia, but also from war-torn China of a quarter of a century ago. Here we have a Central Government whose writ runs from the Himalayas to the Cape. We have a Central Army and no war lords. We have a Constituent Assembly which has given us a fairly democratic Constitution. There is adult franchise in the country and opposition parties that do not openly embrace violence, are allowed to function."<sup>84</sup>

What have been the Communist Party tactics in India? In September, 1939, the Indian communists joined the communists of the world in denouncing the British-French war against Nazi Germany. This line lasted until June 22, 1941, when the Stalin-Hitler pact was broken by Hitler's invasion of Russia. The leaders of the Communist Party were then

in the Deali Detention camp and received a letter from Harry Pallett, Secretary of the British Communist Party, with instructions to drop the name "Imperialist War" and replace it by "People's War." The *volte-face* of the Communist Party in India bewildered the masses. A new approach to India was adopted at a meeting of Communist International agents who gathered from February 19-26, 1948, in Calcutta, under the guise of the "South-East Asian Youth Conference." Russians admitted by diplomatic passports were present. It was here that violence and civil war was planned for Burma in April, Malaya in June and Indonesia in September, 1948.

### Moscow Calls the Tune

It is reported that the instructions for India were considered by the Second Congress of the Communist Party of India which also met in Calcutta, February 28 to March 6. Mr. B. T. Ranadine, Secretary, was entrusted to carry out the new anti-government policy which: (1) began to vilify the Nehru Government; (2) disrupt business through strikes; (3) disrupt transportation through rail sabotage; and (4) institute a reign of terror through bombs and murder. For two years the violence continued.

Why did Russia pick on India? A study of Soviet propaganda reveals that in 1949, with Marshal Chiang Kai-shek's Government crushed, India moved up to the Public Enemy No. 3 in the Soviet's view, the United States and Great Britain holding chairs No. 1 and 2. The Soviet line was that: (1) Indian independence was a fraud; (2) Patel and Nehru were Anglo-American stooges; and (3) Moscow would liberate the starving Indian peasants.

Suddenly in 1950 the mood changed. Dr. S. Radhakrishnar received an interview with Stalin which had been



denied Mrs. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit, Nehru's sister. The new Indonesian Republic was recognized. Pakistan's Prime Minister, Liaquat Ali-Khan, received an invitation from Moscow. It can be seen that with China conquered, the Moscow-Pekin Axis was swung toward new expansion in Asia. Indo-China and Malay would be hammered first and to prevent interference from fringe blocs, India, Indonesia and Pakistan would be wooed for the moment.

The Cominform Directive necessitated a new line for the Indian Communist Party. On January 27, 1950, the Journal of the Communist Information Bureau (Cominform), published in Bucharest, Rumania, with the name "For a Lasting Peace for a People's Democracy," carried an article that rebuked the Indian communists. When this was published, Ranadine hastened to accept this warning lest his bitter rival, Mr. P. C. Joshi, be brought back to leadership. Violence was dropped, sabotage ended and a "peaceful" struggle promised to fight the Congress and Socialist parties who were characterized as the "purveyors of the stupefying influence of Gandhism." So, woo India until Indo-China, Thailand, Burma and Malaya fall and then put the pressure on India and then the People's Liberation armies will emerge from cover. This is the communist line which the Government of India opposes.

### Shock Brigade Tactics

Prime Minister Nehru said to the Constituent Assembly on February 28, 1949: "The Communist Party of India has during the past year, adopted an attitude not only of open hostility to the Government, but one which can be described as bordering on open revolt." A few extracts from their booklet, *Course for the Cadres of the Shock Brigade*, seized by the Government, are illuminating<sup>85</sup>:

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- "2. This Cadres' course is made, basing on the guerilla principles and tactics as enunciated by MAO."
- "3. Every day practical exercises on silent killing, night games on the last two days—one party attacking a police station and the other defending, taking of concealment, camouflage and covers both in the daytime and in the night crawling practice, etc."
- "5. The weapons dealt with here are the rifle, shotguns . . . and the hand bombs. These weapons will be available easily or with little effort."

In Chapter II under "organization," we read: "What the Guerilla Activities Are?" "The guerilla activities mean the raiding of the police station, zamindar or jotedar's house; ambushing police parties to annihilate or collect arms from them; sabotaging the enemy communication lines; attacking the enemy with great surprise from the rear."

### The Telengano Story

While armed communist bands have been in various parts of India, the most dangerous communist area—some 10,000 square miles in extent—has been in Telengano, Hyderabad. There, landowners were driven away and killed. The land was divided among the peasants and a reign of terror ensued. People's courts were established and caste abolished. Two to five thousand guerillas controlled 25,000 peasants. The Government sent in four thousand well-equipped troops and sixteen thousand constabulary to catch them in large-scale mopping up operations. When the troops rounded up large numbers, they were always peaceful peasants who had never heard of communism! The genuine peasants were afraid to expose the guerillas.

The Hyderabad situation is bad because it is the first communist military campaign in India on a large scale with a base for operations on the general Chinese pattern. The

Government has been unable to clear-up the "incident" and a guerilla warfare on a restricted-Malayan-pattern continues. The Government has been firm and Mr. Nehru has bluntly stated that the communist rebels must "surrender or else." The Congress-Nehru-Democratic front in India confronts a global communist strategy and the world watches the prolonged struggle.

With the communist switch in policy, there is an emphasis upon rural problems and a concentrated effort to indoctrinate the peasants in Marxist lore. The Hyderabad peasants were not taught Russian or Chinese slogans, but were rallied by the chant: "Land for the peasants. Death to the landlord."

Let us look at the communist line during the Hyderabad incident. Before the police action, the communists criticized the slowness of Government troops in restoring order. But when the Indian troops entered Hyderabad territory, the communists changed their line and denounced the India Union. As the Indian soldiers fought their way toward Hyderabad City, the communists launched a violent campaign to turn the people against the liberators. Communist circulars declared: "Why have the Congress troops arrived? The optimistic attitude of the people towards Congress troops must be discouraged . . . all rail communications should be destroyed by removing the rails; cutting the telegraph wires and blocking the roads. . . . Do not spare the Congress *goondas*. What the military and police would not do, these brutes (Congress *goondas*) have agreed to do. Wipe them out wherever they are found."<sup>85</sup> In the face of such circulars with their abuse and vilification of the India-Nehru-Democracy forces, one admires the restraint of the Government of India who resolved to combat this lawlessness with all the resources at its disposal.

There are shallow souls who shrug off the communist influence in the 1951 General Election by remarking that they secured seats in only nine of the Provincial Assemblies. You cannot gauge the strength of communism by election votes alone. The tragedy is that this Moscow-directed party has changed the minds of millions of people: young people, farmers and middle-class workers.

### Marx Said of India

India has long been in the thinking of the Soviets. Consider the space which Karl Marx, Lenin and Stalin devoted to India. There is no doubt in their writings that some day India and the world would be theirs! Lenin's dire prophecy should startle us for he envisages: "a series of frightful clashes between the Soviet Republic and the bourgeois state . . . in the end . . . a funeral requiem will be sung either over the Soviet Republic or over world capitalism." It would be of benefit to re-read the fifty references to India which Karl Marx made in *Das Kapital*.<sup>86</sup> Marx wrote last century that in ancient India the village system was a form of "primitive communism" which did not develop into a feudalism as in Europe. The British invasion, says Marx, differed from any other invasion because it broke all the old patterns and separated India from her past. This is the source of the loneliness and melancholy noted by Marx and which colors so much of Indian literature. India is a lost soul. An ancient India has disappeared and a modern world to which she does not belong has come. Marx follows this penetrating analysis by noting the ruthless way Britain exploited India until 1813 and thereafter used her for a market for British goods. He remarks that this was inevitable and "not all for the bad." In fact, the old India must go: "stagnation and vegetative life must

go." Marx then says the role of Britain in India was neither good nor bad for whatever the "crimes" of England, she was the unconscious tool of history and gave India a unity, created a native army, introduced a free press, established private property, educated India's youth and established a system of communication with Europe. These are the steps toward industrialization of India introduced by Britain which will destroy Britain. The time will come when the "Hindu will grow strong enough to throw off the British yoke." Here is prophetic insight and a superb analysis written in the 1800's.

Is it strange that this shrewd prophecy which came true would attract the sensitive melancholy India intellectuals? Is it strange that the Communist Party was founded by Indian students who had studied abroad? But Lenin and Stalin carried this farther and India has even been in the planning of the Kremlin architects. The communists believe that the struggle has not ended. The British have been ejected, but the workers must now free themselves from capitalism. Hence, the Communist Party will oppose anything the present Congress Government proposes or does. The Constitution is attacked: Anglo-American aid is deplored; and participation in the United Nations is ridiculed. It is part of Russia's plan and will grow in intensity because Moscow believes the time for the communization of Asia is at hand. India is being courted at the moment. Korea, Indo-China and Malaya are being hammered. Courting and bludgeoning are exchangeable tools for the Russians.

We can now say that Stalin's "3-stage" program of revolution as witnessed in China is now being introduced into Indo-China, Burma, the Philippines, Indonesia and India. The Indian farmer is caught in the pressure of the present with too many people, too little land, small holdings, in-

adequate tools and an ancient land-tenant system. The bold Five-Year Plan has not had time to trickle down to his level. But, it is trickling. It is a race with time to bring the remedies of scientific knowledge to bear on the tension spots and free the villager from the danger of revolution. Only the fact of conservatism, inertia, the belief in *karma* and a deep-rooted subservience has combined to keep revolt from overflowing India. The peasants are now on the move and the communists are exploiting this fact to the fullest extent.

### How Halt Communism?

The lesson of Telengano is now clear, that communism will be halted only by genuine reforms which bring visible gains to the peasant. Therefore, India: (1) Must raise the standard of living, improve agriculture, increase food production, reclaim more land, develop factories and increase the percentage of literacy. (2) Must abolish untouchability, actually as well as legally. It must give equal educational, social and economic opportunity to outcasts, aboriginals and other low-caste groups. (3) Must use its funds wisely and exercise financial wizardry to accomplish the needed programs without too great a burden of new taxes. (4) It must develop new and younger dynamic popular leaders in the party. The Old Guard is dying, retiring or about exhausted. The New Guard has not appeared. (5) Corruption and bribery must be sternly opposed. How successfully the Congress leaders now in power meet these challenges will be seen in the 1956-1957 second General Election. And that year will be the test: communism or democracy. Our role as Americans is clear—to welcome India as an ally whose friendship we need, whose integrity we trust and whose future as a sovereign democratic republic we cherish.

If the present ignorance, superstition, poverty and hunger continues many more years, the peasants will take the law into their hands and set India ablaze. It happened in Telen-gano. Do the Congress Party reforms stem from a deep desire to lift the peasant and help him as a person or is it a gesture by men who are frightened by the rapid growth of communism? Time will tell, but Mr. Nehru's government's gestures and policy have been both ruthless and firm. The Five-Year Plan appears sound. Zamindari reform seems genuine.<sup>87</sup> Talk of the glory of democracy or the horror of communism will not win the peasants. They need bread, a better life and will get it.

Another shock from India comes from the Christian community in South India where leaders voted "Communist" because they were "against Congress." There were other parties in the election. Why did they vote Communist? Fatalism? Indifference? Ignorance of basic facts? Whatever the cause, it is disturbing news and calls for a greater effort to enlighten the masses against the perils of communism. Private agencies must support the Government in this vast enterprise.

Despite the promises of the Communist Party, many people in India know that they have much to lose and little to gain by going under the crushing heel of a communist dictatorship. India is democracy bent because of her religions; her way of life; her love of home and family; the teaching of Mahatma Gandhi and the sound traditions of the democratic, self-contained village organization—the Panchajāt. Beneath India's confused exterior, there is a vast cohesive core which roots deeply into the soil and has enabled her to withstand famine, plague, earthquake, foreign conquest and internal exploitation. All this is on

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democracy's side! Just as the village is the heart of India, so the final vote for Democracy or Communism will be cast by the Indian peasant in the 700,000 scattered villages. In the long run men who live near to the sun and soil can be trusted.<sup>88</sup>



## CHAPTER XII

### There Yet Remains (1953)

AFTER MANY COMPLIMENTARY THINGS HAVE BEEN SAID OF India's 1947-1952 activities, the fact remains that few schools, roads or bridges have been built. The tourist looking for an Indian National Theatre, ballet or concert can search Bombay, Calcutta or Madras and generally find no cultural presentation comparable to opera, ballet or concerts currently showing in Rome, Paris, London or New York. But India has had three terrific budgetary drains which have prevented the construction of new roads, bridges or schools. These are: (1) the annual cost of rehabilitating seven and one-half million people uprooted from their homes in Pakistan; (2) the food shortage of five million tons which plus a deficit in cotton cost the Indian Government \$700 million in foreign currencies last year; and (3) the budget for defense, i.e., the army, navy and air force.<sup>89</sup> No one in the United States would suggest that India ignore the misery and poverty of her refugees; permit millions to starve rather than purchase food; or reduce the defense budget in view of communism's threat. Rather, we commend India for temporarily shelving many necessary cultural projects, schools, roads, bridges and even hospitals to meet the three basic needs of refugee relief, food and defense. The time will come when the refugees are settled, when India is self-sufficient in food, and Asia assumes a less disquieting nature; then India's chain of eleven national research laboratories, cultural centers such as Kalakshetra in Madras, and other prodigious schemes as the Damodar River Basin Project will be enabled to expand and make enriching contributions to the world. It may well be that

the present Indo-American cooperation will lead to the realization of Muhammad Iqbal's *ghazal*:

In the West intellect is the source of life,  
In the East love is the basis of life.  
Arise and lay the foundation of a New World.  
By welding Intellect to Love.<sup>90</sup>

There yet remain provocative questions.

### Muslims in India

Before Mohammed Ali Jinnah began his fanatical campaign to create an Islamic state, India was the largest Muslim country in the world. More than 100 million Muslims lived with Hindu-Sikh neighbors, with riots and clashes it is true, but none of consequence to divide Mother India. India has long been a multi-religious, multi-lingual and multi-racial land. Even after partition, forty-two million Muslims remained in India constituting the third largest Muslim country in the world. Indonesia with seventy million Muslims and Pakistan with sixty-six million only exceed India.

We have seen that Pakistan was created out of the demand of the Muslim League which claimed that Muslims were a "separate nation." While not all Indian Muslims accepted this political platform, enough accepted it to carve two areas out of India to constitute Pakistan.

But what of the forty-two million Muslims who continue to live in India? While it is officially stated that Muslims can live with dignity and security because India is a secular and not a religious state, the practical situation is that memories of the 1947 holocaust haunt the Muslim community and many live in anxiety, fear and suspicion.

Perhaps they are wrong, but there is a substratum of uneasiness among India's Muslims. There is a small stream of leather workers, brass manufacturers and merchants who are selling out and quietly leaving for Pakistan. They give no concrete reason for their departure, but whisper of the unhappy months in 1947-1948 and the uncertain future.

India is doing much to bolster the confidence of the Muslims in the new democratic republic. Prime Minister Nehru said in a recent election speech, "All of us, to whatever religion we may belong, are equally the children of India. We cannot encourage communalism or narrow-mindedness, for no nation can be great whose people are narrow-minded in thought or action." It is admitted that Muslims have played an important part not only in the cultural development of India, but also in India's struggle for freedom. Muslims took a leading role in the "Sepoy Mutiny of 1857" or as now called, India's First War of Independence. Thousands of Muslims joined the non-cooperation and civil disobedience movements led by Mahatma Gandhi. The Indian National Congress has elected Muslim leaders as its Presidents. The Muslim contribution to Indian architecture, literature and music is world famous. Indian culture, in fact, is not exclusively Hindu, Muslim or Christian. It is a synthesis of all these and more.

The Constitution of the Indian Republic which came into force on January 26, 1950, guarantees complete political freedom to Muslims and other religious communities. It further guarantees equality before the law, prohibits discrimination on grounds of religion and secures equality of opportunity in the matter of public employment. Articles 15, 16 and 25 of the Constitution declare: "The State shall not discriminate against any citizen on grounds

of religion." (Article 15) "There shall be equality of opportunity for all citizens in matters relating to employment or appointment to any office under the State." (Article 16) "All persons are equally entitled to freedom of conscience and the right freely to profess, practise and propagate religion." (Article 25)

Muslims in India are sharing responsibility in administration, education and economic reconstruction of the country. There are Muslims in the Federal Parliament and State legislatures who have been elected to represent not merely Muslims but other communities as well. Two important portfolios in the Federal Cabinet are held by Muslims: Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Minister for Education and Scientific Research, and Mr. Rafi Ahmed Kidwai succeeds Dr. K. M. Munshi as Minister of Food. Muslims have gone out as Ambassadors of India to various countries of the world. Free India's first Ambassador to the United States was a Muslim, Mr. Asaf Ali, and the writer's lecture-platform friend, the late Dr. Syad Hassain, was first Ambassador to Egypt.

Nationalism, the dominant political urge in India for decades and shared by all communities alike, attempted to make the Muslims feel that they were Indians first and Muslims second, in exactly the same way as religious groups in America feel that they are Americans first and Catholics, Protestants or Jews second. That this admirable and sound idea did not take root 100 percent led to the partition of India and the Great Slaughter. Jawaharlal Nehru has often declared that he would be the Prime Minister of India only if all Indians enjoyed equal civic rights. Mahatma Gandhi, as we have seen, laid down his life in defense of these rights. The fair treatment accorded to Muslims during the past five years has begun to produce

confidence among them and there is every reason to believe that the numbers going to Pakistan will decrease and some people predict that Muslims will begin to return to their old homes in India.

In 1951, when Pakistani propaganda was crying *Jehad* (Holy War) against India in a fresh attempt to secure the forcible annexation of the disputed State of Jammu and Kashmir, leaders of Indian Muslims stood firmly behind the Government of India and supported the defensive measures undertaken by the latter. Mr. T. M. Zarif, principal organizer of the All-India Muslim Convention in Calcutta (July, 1951), declared: "We pledge our unswerving loyalty to the Government and our fullest cooperation with it in the defense of the State and the maintenance of internal security. If Pakistan makes an aggressive move, it will find every Indian Muslim coming forward for the defense of India and shedding his last drop of blood in resisting attack."

As 1953 begins, there yet remains much to do on the village-to-village level to restore Hindu-Muslim confidence, but the record at the top is clear.

### India's Languages

"How can a nation speaking so many languages get together?" There is indeed a language problem in modern India. But it is not an impossible task. India, like the United States, is polygenous . . . a melting pot of proto-Australoid, Negrito, Dravidian, Tibetan, Aryan, European "races"; but unlike her sister sovereign-democratic-republic of the West—is polyglot. An Indian railroad station consequently echoes a babel of tongues.

There really are not as many languages as popularly stated. Dialects, yes, but not languages. The Constitution

of India recognizes fourteen major languages; belonging to four main linguistic families of which the Indo-Aryan group is the most influential. This compares favorably with the number of languages spoken in Europe, which, minus Russia, is roughly the same size as India. Just as European languages are derived from common sources, such as Greek, Latin, Anglo-Saxon and Slavic, the sources of present-day Indian languages are: (1) Austric, (2) Sino-Tibetan, (3) Dravidian and (4) Indo-Aryan.

The Austric languages are spoken by less than 1.3 per cent mostly in the hill sections of central and northeastern India. The Sino-Tibetan belongs to the northeast frontier areas and is used by less than one percent of the population. The Dravidian and Indo-Aryan groups, however, are the parents of modern Indian languages. Of the former, which came into India before 3500 B.C. from the Mediterranean and Asia Minor and was the main source of modern Tamil, Telugu, Kanarese and Malayam, Tamil retains its original character. The others of this group have taken more freely from Sanskrit and are dependent upon it for enrichment and word-building.

The Aryans, coming from Central Asia, brought with them a language quite distinct from the ones existing theretofore. The impact of this Aryan speech was decisive; gradually it spread over the entire north and much of central and southern India. Old *Indo-Aryan*, the earliest example of this speech, can be found in the language of the *Rig Veda*, probably compiled in the tenth century B.C. Sanskrit, a more recent form established by 500 B.C., became the great vehicle of ancient Indian culture. It is the natural root of modern north Indian languages, which, as we know them today, were developed around A.D. 1000. Persian and Arabic which were introduced in India by the

Muslim conquerors also had their effect. By the early 1800's almost all North Indian languages reflected this influence and Urdu was widely used.

In developing a national language, the place of English, which had come to occupy much importance as a medium of higher education and cultural contact with the West, was given due recognition. It was decided to retain English as the official language for fifteen years, during which time Hindi would be expected gradually to replace it. Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru, speaking before the Constituent Assembly on September 13, 1949, when the language question was under discussion, said: "English is obviously the most important language for us and many of us know it. It is absurd for us to try to forget what we know or not take advantage of what we have learned. But it will have to be inevitably a secondary language meant for a relatively restricted number of people."

The culture of a people cannot best be expressed through a foreign language. A country's language is not simply a means of expression; it is part of the national soul. Although India was a British colony for one hundred fifty years, only a very small percentage learned English. Hindi, associated with the great body of North Indian folklore and religious epics, has deep roots in the land although there is a vociferous anti-Hindi Movement in South India among the Dravidian groups.

In developing this common tongue through the widespread literacy campaigns being conducted on adult levels under the leadership of Dr. Frank Laubach, the regional languages are being used. These, which have a varied, rich literature, will serve as the medium of instruction in elementary schools and the national language added from the secondary grades upward. The Constitution provides

that the national language should be a composite one, borrowing from the regional tongues as well as from English.

Article 351 of the Constitution reads:

"It shall be the duty of the Union to promote the spread of the Hindi language, to develop it so that it may serve as a medium of expression for all the elements of the composite culture of India."

### Education

There yet remains the knotty problem of education. With 85 percent of the population illiterate, education means to many a mass anti-illiteracy campaign. With underdevelopment of farm and factory, education means to others the training of experts in many classifications to develop the resources of the land. But to still another group, the education of India consists of the education of 360 million people in everyday living: home, place of worship, school work and recreation so that India may become a stable land and a bulwark of democracy.

Let us not "whip the British" for what they did. Admittedly, for sake of administrative expediency, the British taught the students the English language. The aim of education in India under British rule was to train a large number of capable workers to man the telegraph, postal, railroad, excise, revenue, customs and other governmental departments. Education of the masses was left to private agencies which too often resulted in being . . . left.

Education in free India is but one part of the total program of social and economic reform that the Constitution envisages. India's Five-Year Plan summarizes the philosophy of education as follows: "As an immediate objective, within the limits set by prevailing conditions and



resources, the system of education has to be adapted to the requirements of national planning. Education has, however, an even more vital function in relation to the development of the individual. It has to train the senses, develop the intellect, humanize the emotions and equip the individual for efficient living so as to insure an integrated growth of his personality. There is also the larger question of reorientating the system of education so that the people are able to participate effectively in building up and efficiently serving the social order which it is the object of national planning to evolve."

The Constitution aims at working out a pattern of democracy which would insure equality of opportunity and the essentials of civilized life to every individual. It provides for a high degree of social solidarity and for the ultimate leveling down of the psychological barriers which tend to divide the people within the country. As the Plan points out, "It is primarily through the right kind of education that such a transformation can be brought about."

Another objective of education that the Plan stresses is the rebirth and further development of Indian culture. Education, it is pointed out, "should stimulate the growth of the creative faculty, increase the capacity for enjoyment and develop a spirit of critical appreciation of art, literature and other creative activities."

The Plan stresses the practical nature of education. It recommends steps to coordinate the school with the home and community. In a country as poor as India is at the present time, the primary aim of education should be to prepare each individual not only to make a living for himself, but also to contribute effectively to the productivity and economic well-being of the nation. During the next few years in India, therefore, the greatest emphasis

will be laid on imparting necessary skills to large numbers of people and not on high-level skills for the favored few. Education of the "classes" will give way to education of the "masses."

Emphasis on instruction in arts and crafts was first laid by Mahatma Gandhi in a school which he started at Sabarmati in the early days of the freedom struggle and which he later moved to Wardha near Nagpur. It was in this school that Gandhi began his experiment in Basic Education. He believed that the child should be taught through handicrafts such as spinning, weaving and agriculture and that education divorced from the real life and actual needs of the community was fruitless.

This concept of education—so familiar in the United States through the teaching of John Dewey—attracted widespread attention and is the key to the basic education now being popularized by the Government of India.

Another important item of the Five-Year Plan is the provision of universal, compulsory and free education for children between the ages of 6-14. Despite the limitations of finance, buildings, teachers and equipment, the Government aims to have all 6-14 age group children in school by 1965.

The fact that the total expenditure on all types of education from all sources is now over \$210,000,000, as compared with \$105,000,000 in 1947-1948 is an indication of the development of education. The outlay on education from Government funds alone has risen from \$54,600,000 in 1947-1948 to an estimated expenditure of over \$136,500,000 in 1952.

It must be remembered that this great increase in expenditure has taken place in years of great financial strain when millions of rupees had to be spent for the relief and rehabilitation of refugees from Pakistan, on land reclama-

tion projects, on importing food grains to stave off virtual starvation, on the production of food at home and on other urgent undertakings. The total picture is promising.

### Adult Literacy

Twelve miles from New Delhi in a nondescript fortress-like building in the village of Alipur is the first UNESCO Associated Project headquarters. Facing the dusty tree-lined road is an abandoned police barracks with the sign—"Janata College." From this simple rural center spread a teaching force of two hundred fifty men and women trained to tackle one tough problem that yet remains—illiteracy—and with it a down-to-earth rural education program.

For many decades government officials, Christian Missions, private schools and philanthropic institutions have made desultory attempts to combat illiteracy. But heretofore accomplishments have been localized and short-lived. The "each one teach one" slogan is correct, but until 1952, it is a fact that in no place in India has a large adult population been taught to read, continued reading and gone out "to teach one." Nineteen hundred fifty-three dawned on a land where 85 percent of the people are beyond the effective range of literature.

Janata College is a landmark because it is the first fundamental education project in India to be launched as a training school and continued testing ground for India's nationwide drive to combat illiteracy. This project was begun in Delhi State with a population of 500,000 who live in 305 mud villages on the flat, sun-baked plains. UNESCO's Chief of Staff in India's war against illiteracy is Dr. Spencer Hatch, a world-famous educator, who for

eighteen years conducted a rural project in South India under the Y.M.C.A.

Janata College is of special importance to American farm women because this rural self-help institution was described by Mrs. Elizabeth Beeson of United Nations at the Chicago AFBF meeting. The Associated Women of Kansas Farm Bureau later adopted the Janata College project for Kansas!

Janata College is one of many specialized institutions, but it is of significance in that it is tackling a major problem in a major Asian nation. It is teaching adults to read; works in the fields of diet, health and sanitation; and seeks to improve the life of the villager by helping him to help himself.

On a sixty-acre farm, students learn to work with their hands to earn their bread.

Audio-visual aids play a vital role in this pioneer institution. Four specialized trucks comprise the mobile unit. One truck is equipped with audio-visual aids; another truck houses the library; one truck carries a complete theater and one contains exhibition and demonstration equipment. The motorized units spend a week in a village with a diversified program of films, filmstrips, homecraft demonstration, plays, recreation and classes. The mobile units move on and the fifteen to twenty trained workers remain for six weeks and they utilize simple inexpensive, non-projected visual aids. When the teachers leave, two or three graduates of Janata College remain for a follow-up course to make certain that the new literate does not sink back in apathy. Here is a thrilling story of Indo-American cooperation and the adaptation of audio-visual aids and fundamental education techniques to break the chains of ignorance and superstition and set India's villagers free.

## Peaceful Revolution in Uttar Pradesh

India has dealt a death blow to feudalism by enacting the Zamindari Abolition and Land Reforms Act of July 1, 1952, in Uttar Pradesh in North India of which Lucknow is the capital. This major step in implementing agrarian reform greatly strengthens democracy in India. One of the major problems in the department of agriculture was that of absentee landlordism. Over 80 percent of the rich farm land of Uttar Pradesh was in the hands of absent landlords who were only interested in the profits. The landlords were not mean, cruel or a bad people. In fact, they were cultured, charming, cosmopolitan—but selfish. They had forgotten to think about the toiling peasants who made their comfortable life possible. It was as though the share-cropping system in the Southern states spread over the forty-eight states.

The *Zamindari* system<sup>91</sup> arose at the time of the old British East India Company. The British found *zamindars* already collecting taxes and converted these tax gatherers into landowners. The *zamindars* became intermediaries between the peasant and the government. Now state after state has passed bills to abolish the absentee landlord system—whether *zamindari* or other. The Indian system is not that of liquidating a class as is the Russian pattern. The landlords are paid in cash or bond for the lands being given to peasants who will till them. In Uttar Pradesh with a population of 63,215,000, a total of sixty million acres owned by 2,200,000 landlords is involved in this gigantic land reform. The man who does not own the land he tills, will not put his best into it. The government recognized that the “man with the hoe” or “behind the plow” would ultimately produce more or less food for the nation. The

land reforms have been designed to strengthen the farmer who is given dignity and status by a system which abolishes the intermediary between government and farmer and classifies proprietorship as follows:

1. *Bhumidar* (holder of the land)—These are actual owners with full hereditary possession and resale rights. Anyone may become a *Bhumidar* by depositing in the government treasury ten times the existing rent of the land.

2. *Sirdar* (holder of the plough)—Present tenants of any kind or squatters of vacant land belonging to any landlord paying more than Rs. 250 (\$50) in land taxes. They will have all existing land rights and will pay rent to state instead of the landlord.

3. *Adhivasi* (occupant)—Subtenants who have heretofore been tenants-at-will with practically no rights at all. They will continue in possession irrespective of the terms of their tenure, subject to the condition that they acquire *Bhumidari* rights with the consent of their immediate landlords (*Sirdars*, or tenants-in-chief), within five years, if possible; or within the second five years as a matter of right. They will pay rent to the *Sirdars*.

4. *Asami*—A designation given to persons cultivating lands belonging to those in the first two categories who are unable, temporarily, under provision of the Act, to cultivate the land themselves; also persons tilling land used for casual or occasional crops, groves or forest lands.

Eventually, it is expected that the new status together with government help in procuring improved implements, tools, better seed and training in farming methods will provide inspiration as well as the financial means to enable those in the last three categories to become *Bhumidars*.

In keeping with the democratic ideals motivating the policies of the Indian Republic, the land reform program

is being carried out under constitutional provisions which guarantee compensation for dispossessed landlords. They will be paid on a graduating scale out of state funds made up of the original payments and subsequent taxes paid by the new Bhumidars and Sirdars. In Uttar Pradesh alone the amount has been estimated at \$280,000,000 besides an approximate sum of \$125,000,000 to be used to rehabilitate the smaller ex-landlords in new and productive occupations.

In addition to this the problem of the fragmentation of land or small-farm holdings is being tackled. The average size of a farm in India is three to five acres. This contrasts with twenty-one acres in Britain, twenty-five in Sweden and 145 in the United States. Moreover, these tiny holdings are not necessarily in one place. The few acres of the peasant owner may be scattered about the village, making proper fencing, plowing and irrigation difficult.

A careful survey of the situation and consultations with American County Agents has resulted in the finding that for India the size of the ideal holding, in order that the individual farmer may be able to work his own land with the best results, should not exceed thirty acres and should not be less than six and one-fourth acres. The minimum acreages were determined on the basis of the amount of land necessary for the support of an average peasant family with two workers and a pair of oxen.

These dramatic developments were heralded on July 1, 1952, with the beating of drums at colorful village ceremonies symbolizing that victory had come for millions of underprivileged and signifying to the world that with joint use of Indian and foreign funds, bloodless revolution could lead to democratic advances.

The ten thousand villages of Uttar Pradesh have been

made responsible for the development and improvement of their respective areas. The *Gaon Samaj* (village community) will consist of all cultivators and residents of the village. All common lands in the village belong to it and will be developed toward its best interests. Acting through the *Gaon Panchayat* (executive council), the Samaj will see that all wasteland is utilized and common land is cared for and developed. Much remaineth, but the major problems have been tackled and India's rural millions face the right road. Time will tell how far they march or who thrusts in to halt them.

### Food Deficit Only Ten Percent

India's food deficit is only 10 percent, that is, five million tons of food grains a year. This is being overcome as we have described by increasing the productivity of the land through the use of fertilizers, better seeds and farming methods. The following figures show that here is scope for improvement: The present average yield of corn in India is 803 lbs. per acre, compared with 1,579 in the U.S.; of rice, 1,240 lbs., compared with 2,185 in the U.S.; and of wheat, 660 lbs., compared with 812 in the U.S.

According to a survey made by the Food and Agricultural Organization of the U.N., wheat production in India can be raised twenty percent in ten years—ten percent by using fertilizers, five percent by introducing new varieties and five percent through protection from insects and diseases. The survey further states that after this period additional measures can swell the increase to fifty percent.

What positive steps is the Government of India taking to achieve food self-sufficiency?

a) The new Grow-More-Food campaign is one of the



most important sectors of the Government's Five-Year Plan, which calls for spending 12.8 percent of the total outlay, or \$402,570,000 for agricultural and rural development.

b) Reclamation of lands now lying fallow is being accelerated. One of the vital factors in this project is the Central Tractor Organization. Formed in 1947 with one hundred eighty tractors obtained from the U.S. Army at the end of World War II, it is tackling the problem of reclaiming land infested with the deadly *kans*, a weed that reaches fourteen inches into the soil.

In this point a brief quotation from a thought-provoking book, *The Geography of Hunger*, just published, is in order. The author, Dr. Josue de Castro, chairman of the executive council of FAO, writes: "Hunger and misery are not caused by the presence of too many people in the world, but rather by having few to produce and many to feed. . . . The road to world survival does not lie in the neo-Malthusian prescriptions to eliminate surplus people, nor in birth control, but in the effort to make everybody on the face of the earth productive."

### Social Security

From farm to factory we swing. Immediate aid is concentrated upon the farm in order to win the battle for bread, but India is alive to the needs of industrial development. One of the first major steps was to introduce Social Security to Asia.<sup>92</sup>

The Indian Employees' State Insurance Act, major social security legislation of the Republic of India and the first such legislation in Southeast Asia, was inaugurated on February 24, 1952. By this action, India, bulwark of democracy in Asia, took concrete action to implement those concepts of justice on which her Constitution is based.

The legislation was designed to cover ultimately 2,500,000 employees in year-round factories, though it is being activated initially only in Delhi and Kanpur to cover 150,000 employees. The legislation has invested the Government with authority to extend the scheme to all categories of employees.

An insured employee is entitled to free medical attention in state insurance dispensaries or hospitals with cash payments while disabled. These payments are approximately seven twelfths of the average wage. The Dispensaries will be opened as near the residences of the employees as possible. Sickness and Maternity Benefits depend upon the fulfillment of contributory conditions, but no conditions attach either to medical care or to Disablement and Dependents' Benefits arising out of employment injury. These benefits accrue immediately upon entry into insurance. Where an employee dies, the law provides for pensions to members of the family and to dependents for the period of need. Clearly, benefits under the new Act are a substantial advance upon the old Workmen's Compensation and the Maternity Benefit Acts.

There was a time when the Hindu joint family system organized philanthropy by religious orders and social institutions reduced the risk that the employee ran, but with industrialization, this ancient social compactness has given way. The individual must increasingly depend upon himself and when ill or injured must depend upon a system of social services provided, as in all modern countries, by the State.

To work the new Act, the Government has set up the Employee's State Insurance Corporation. The executive work is done by a Standing Committee. A Medical Benefit Council advises on medical benefits. For its finances the

Corporation is dependent upon contributions by the employees and the employers. Workers who receive up to rupee 1/ (21 cents) per day are exempt from making any contributions. Workers who receive between rupee 1/ (21 cents) and rupees 1/8 (31 cents) contribute 2 annas (3 cents) per week. The higher wage groups contribute 4 annas (6 cents) to one rupee four annas (27 cents) per week—approximately 2 percent of their average wages. Employers in Kanpur and Delhi, the industrial areas in which the Scheme is being introduced immediately, will contribute one and a quarter percent of their total wage bill, employers elsewhere in India contributing three-fourths percent of their total wage bill for financing the Corporation. In all, a sum of rupees 20,000,000 (\$4,200,000) is expected to be collected every year as contribution from employees and employers.

The health services will be run by State Governments who will bear one third of the cost of medical care, the remaining two thirds being borne by the Corporation. The Central Government will share in the Scheme by meeting two thirds of the cost of administration, excluding cost of benefits, for the first five years.

India does not contend that this solves all her problems. Much remaineth to establish social security for the worker, but she has made a Plan and set up a corporation to work it and this is good.

### The Caste System

This is not the place to record the origin of caste, the history of the caste system, the relation of the Hindu concept of *karma* to caste or the tragic social consequences of untouchability.<sup>93</sup> For many centuries Hindu reformers have

been aware of the evils of the system and reform movements, but a great victory has been achieved.

The Constitution of India guarantees equal rights to all citizens, regardless of caste. "The State shall not discriminate against any citizen on grounds only of religion, race, caste, sex, place of birth or any of them," says Article 16. The same Article adds: "No citizen shall on grounds only of religion, race, caste, sex, place of birth, or any of them, be subject to any disability, liability, restriction or condition with regard to:

- a) access to shops, public restaurants, hotels and places of public entertainment; or
- b) the use of wells, tanks, bathing ghats, roads and places of public resort maintained wholly or partly out of state funds or dedicated to the use of the general public."

The practice of "untouchability" has been made a criminal offense. The Constitution provides for the reservation of seats in Parliament for Harijans or erstwhile "untouchables." In the national elections, completed in the spring of 1952, 72 Harijans were elected to the House of the People (lower House of Parliament) and 477 to State Assemblies. The Five-Year Plan earmarks \$37,800,000 for the uplift of the Harijans (1951-1952). A number now hold cabinet posts and Jagjiwan Ram, Communications Minister, belongs to the Harijan community.

Caste is stronger in South India than in the North. This fact led the Madras Chief Minister, Shri C. Rajagopalachari, to tell a Cuddalore audience in October, 1952, that "inter-caste marriage was the only method of doing away with the caste system" which he continued to say had developed in South India into a "poison of caste hatred." Only when brave Indian officials speak so boldly will the ancient ill

be cured. This is not a topic on which the foreigner may comment—he can report.

Reform movements began as early as the sixth century B.C., spearheaded by Buddhism and Jainism. Spiritual leaders such as Chaitanya, Kabir and Nanak, who lived in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries A.D., endeavored to reform the caste system through spiritual means. They propagated the belief that all lovers of God belonged to one caste. In the nineteenth century, the Brahmo Samaj and the Arya Samaj (reformist movements) preached against the caste evils. Islam and Christianity stressed "brotherhood" and aided in the reform movement.

The present generation was made conscious of the need to reform the Hindu society by India's great leader, Mahatma Gandhi. Prime Minister Nehru has said that the caste system has to change completely, for it is wholly opposed to modern conditions and to the democratic ideal. The most serious impact has been that of Christianity and so powerful was the response that thousands of Hindu out-castes were baptized in the early twentieth century. The Christian Community is composed of 85 percent of Depressed Class origin.

Now these reforming groups are joined by the new Indian Republic that has given full constitutional rights to the sixty million "untouchables" or Harijans. Will it work? Fifty miles from Lucknow the high caste barbers of Shajahapur refused to shave the Harijans. They did not fight back. They simply refused to empty the garbage or clean the streets. When the stench became unbearable, a meeting was called between "sweepers" and "barbers." The Constitution was cited, prolonged talk followed, but an agreement was reached. The Harijans do their work and they

get shaved. Yes, there will be many cases of local friction, but there is the Constitution. "It's in the book."

### Taming Rivers

The United States with all its skill and resources has not completely solved the problem of taming its rivers. The Missouri and the Kansas still run wild. The Tennessee Valley Authority has become a model for the engineers of the world, but there are innumerable river basins needing an over-all treatment. It is estimated that only 6 percent of India rivers is being utilized. The Beas, Ganges, Indus, Alaknonda, Kosi, Hoogly and Bramaputra are but a few of India's streams with vast potential.

India needs to tame the rivers for irrigation and electrical current. The fickle monsoon rains and unreliable water supply cut deeply at agricultural reform. Only forty-eight million acres of 251 million acres of cultivated land are irrigated. Eighty-one percent of the land depends upon the whim of the monsoon or the lash of flood.

The Damodar River Basin Project is the most ambitious now under construction with such engineers as Dr. S. L. Savage and Mr. Kuljian assisting in technical details. The Damodar is a wandering and destructive river in Bihar (Northeast India) which rises in the hills of Chota Nagpur and becomes a large river as it reaches Bengal and flows into the Hooghly below Calcutta. It may be a small river, but it is a giant in destruction when the rains come and the water overflows the low banks and destroys crops, villages, men and cattle. The valley of the Damodar, or "River of Sorrow," is rich in soil and minerals and could serve man if harnessed. It could drive turbines and provide electricity. It could channel water to irrigate the thirsty land. It could be used as a barge canal. It could. It will. The

Damodar Valley Corporation (DVC) became a fact after the devastating 1943 floods. It is a ten-year project specifying eight dams with hydro-electric plants, a 200,000 kilowatt steam-power plant, an irrigation barrage with 1,553 miles of distribution canals and ninety miles of navigable canals. The cost will be \$115 million.

India, we know, has three seasons: cold, hot and wet. The country receives its average of 45 inches in the three wet or monsoon months. When the monsoon fails, famine, which is always just around the corner, starts. This has been India's plight for ages. The rains one cannot change, but the waterways can be tapped for irrigation purposes. Yes, the taming of the rivers is one answer to the problem of food and health.

The Damodar Valley project is not all, because the Central Government and twenty-three of the States have between them 135 large and small projects. Twelve of these are major projects costing more than \$21 million each. Eight are multi-purpose river valley projects. The largest and most advanced of these is the Bhakra-Nangal project in the Punjab. Two other large multi-purpose projects under execution are the Damodar Valley project (in West Bengal near Bihar), costing 157 million and the Hirakud project (in Orissa), costing \$131,400,000.

At the end of the Five-Year Plan in 1956, it is expected that irrigated land will be increased by 8,800,000 acres and that when the major projects are fully completed, the increase will be 16,500,000 acres. This will mean that India's present irrigated area will be increased about one third.

These irrigation projects and the reclaiming of land are expected to boost India's annual yield of food by 7,200,000 tons by 1956. Power generation is expected to increase by

1,100,000 kilowatts by the end of 1956—a gain of about 50 percent over the present total generating capacity.

### India's Future

The new free India which came into being on August 15, 1947, when an ancient subcontinent was carved into two independent nations has been preoccupied thus far with colossal problems which arose from partition, the subsequent riots, the seven and one-half million refugees and unprecedented natural calamities. The restoration of order in the latter months of 1947 was the least difficult of India's problems. In the wake of communal strife came the vast task of receiving, dispersing and rehabilitating seven and one-half million refugees. Where in known history has a "refugee problem" of this immensity faced a new Government the first month of its existence—and been tackled with such courage and vision? The 360 million people of India belong to a "secular state," possess a written constitution, remain with the British commonwealth of nations and hold a strategic position in the modern world through creditable participation in the United Nations.

In common with several new Asian nations achieving freedom from colonial rule after World War II, India faces basic internal problems. Despite a frenzied start, India has recovered her equilibrium and balanced her problems with able plans. Her millions need more food, clothing, housing, education and health services, which the Five-Year Plan has considered and tackled priority-wise.

Reviewing India's bold decade, 1942-1952, we are aware that problems remain: (1) there is room for more amicable Hindu-Muslim relations on the village-to-village, person-to-person level; (2) Hindi must be popularized in non-Hindi



areas and become the all-India language; (3) basic education aimed at free compulsory schooling for all children coupled with adult literacy campaigns must be pursued with diligence; (4) land reform beginnings must be upheld until India's peasants are land-owning peasants; (5) production on farm and in factory must be increased to meet a normal birth rate; (6) reaffirming Article 16 of the Constitution until it becomes a universal practice; and (7) utilizing all of nature's forces for the service of man. While these remain, we have seen that India is on the right road.

India has no enemies, seeks no new territory, desires peace and professes a willingness to cooperate with all freedom-loving nations in the attainment of a future—which she contends—can be one of peace. India's future is good.

## FOOTNOTES

1. What is the population of India? The 1941 pre-independence census figure of 388 million was divided as follows: (1) 254.9 million Hindus; (2) 94.4 million Muslims; and (3) 39.6 millions for all other communities. There were 360 million people in 1947 post-partition India. If the present birth rate continues in India, there will be 400 million people by 1960 excluding Pakistan.

2. See reading list: page 221.

3. India's pre-partition population was approximately 400 million.

4. The British left two nascent states: Pakistan and India. With eighty million people, mostly Muslim, Pakistan is the fifth nation in the world on the basis of population.

5. Jinnah, Mohammed Ali: Born December 25, 1876, he came from a family originally Hindu, but converted to Islam after the coming of the Muslim invaders. He studied law in England and returned to work in the Congress Party. But for twenty years, he criticized Mr. Gandhi's methods and policies. He became President of the Muslim League in 1933 and reorganized it in 1936. He was not only a brilliant lawyer, but also a skillful advocate of the Muslim cause. After partition Jinnah became the first Governor-General of Pakistan and carried the main burden until, at the age of seventy-one, he succumbed to a heart attack in September, 1948. He was buried with impressive ceremonies and honored as the Quaid-I-Azam (The Great Leader) of Pakistan.

6. Mogul comes from the Arabic word Mongol.

7. The same Panipat where in 1547 Muslims were sheltered by a courageous Sikh leader until enraged refugees from Pakistan arrived and butchered hundreds. See pages 71 and 84 for Mr. Gandhi's reaction of sympathy and compassion.

8. Taj Mahal: From the jewel-encrusted Jasmine Tower on the Agra Fort, the emperor Shahjahan could look across upon the tomb he had built for his wife, Mumtaz Mahal. It is one of the loveliest buildings in all the world and took 20,000 men fifteen years to build.

9. L. S. S. O'Malley (ed. *Modern India and the West*, London: Oxford University Press, 1941), p. 751.

10. Congress Party: Founded in 1885 under the leadership of Mr. Allan Octavian Hume, a retired British Indian civil servant, the Indian National Congress became the power back of the movement for India's freedom. The greatest men of their day were Congress members: Dadabhai Naorogu (1824-1917); and W. C. Bonneyee who presided over the first Congress in Bombay in December, 1885. Moderation characterized the Congress until 1916 when the late Bal Gangadhar

Tilak, a Maratha leader from Poona, captured the party. Independence became its goal which failed to arouse the masses until Mr. Gandhi's leadership. His civil disobedience movements, jail-sojourns and dedication to a cause stirred the soul of India. After partition Congress leaders assumed office and won their first victory in an impressive election of 1951-1952.

11. Read Glorney Bolton's *The Tragedy of Gandhi* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1934), p. 38, for a striking observation.

12. Muslim League: Founded in 1906 on the eve of the Morley-Minto reforms of 1909 which gave India a beginning of representative government. It has remained a communal organization being concerned with Muslim interests, i.e., Muslim quotas in government service, etc. The League was a minor force until Mr. Jinnah's reorganization in 1936. Under his powerful leadership it grew until it spoke for the Muslim majority. In 1940 the Muslim League adopted Pakistan, the division of India into separate nations, as its goal.

13. Quoted in Robert A. Smith's *Divided India* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1947), p. 169.

14. Matlubul Hasan, *M. A. Jinnah: A Political Study* (Lahore: Sh. Muhammad Ashraf, M.D.), p. 679.

15. Jamil-id-Din Ahmad, ed., *Some Recent Speeches of Mr. Jinnah* (Lahore: Sh. Muhammad Ashraf, 1943), I, p. 213.

16. There were exceptions. Chakravarti Rajagopalachari (born 1879 near Madras) who combined a refined intellect with first-rate administrative ability gave up a lucrative legal practice to join the Congress Nationalist Movement. He became a staunch Congress man, but urged a reorientation in his party's policy. In April, 1942, he resigned from the Working Committee of the Congress because he believed the party was intolerant toward the demands of the Muslim League and thus became a champion of Hindu-Muslim good will. The majority remained adamant until Gandhi's death.

17. See Chapter IV, "Voluntary Relief Agencies," pp. 47-69.

18. Earl Louis Mountbatten of Burma, *Time Only to Look Forward* (London: Nicholas Kaye, 1949), p. 266.

19. Sir Frederick Puckle, "The Gandhi-Jinnah Conversations," *Foreign Affairs*, XXIII, Jan., 1945, p. 320.

20. A. C. Baneyee, *The Constituent Assembly of India* (Calcutta: A. Mukhejee and Co., 1947), p. 105.

21. Richard Symonds, *The Making of Pakistan* (London: Faber and Faber, 1950), p. 74.

22. Communal: A much used word in India referring to one of the many "religious communities": Hindu, Muslim, Sikh, Christian, etc. Hence, "communal differences" refer to differences between religious groups. A "communal riot" could be Shia-Sunni, Hindu-Muslim,

## FOOTNOTES

Sikh-Muslim, etc. This also applied to "separate electorates," a system under which the various communities returned their representatives to the Legislatures in rigid communal compartments. Muslims only voted for Muslims, etc.

23. Bimal C. Ghose, *Planning for India* (Calcutta: Oxford University Press, 1945), p. 11.

24. *Chronology of International Events and Documents* (Vol. III, No. 19, September 22-October 5, 1947), p. 568.

25. See pages 41-81.

26. Hill stations: During May-June in particular, or the hot months, all who are able to do so leave the plains for a hill station which is from 4,000-4,800 feet above sea level. Simla, Naini Tal and Mussoorie are in the Himalayas. Pachmarhi is in the old Central Provinces and Ootacamund in the south India Nilgiris. There is accommodation and pleasure for every purse.

27. Sikhs: Followers of Guru Nanak, the founder of Sikhism, who was a dissenter from Brahminical Hinduism. Born in 1469 he was a contemporary with Luther. One of Nanak's successors made the Sikh initiation a right of admittance into a militant order. The orthodox Sikh (the word means "disciple") must wear the five k's: the *kes*, uncut hair, the *kachhi*, drawers reaching only to the knees, the *kara*, iron bangle, *kirpan*, sword, and *khanga* or hair comb. The Sikhs use flesh and liquor but prohibit tobacco.

28. *The Times* (London), September 19, 1950.

29. A group in Hyderabad were determined that their state would not accede to India in 1948-1949. An organization called Ittehad-ul-Muselmin sought to preserve Islamic culture in the Deccan. It came under the leadership of Qasim Razavi who created a private army, the Razakar Volunteers, who advocated a Muslim Hyderabad.

30. See Chapter V, "Distinguished Leadership," pp. 82-94.

31. See Chapter IV, "Voluntary Relief Agencies," pp. 58-81.

32. For additional facts on Kurukshetra Camp see Chapter IV, pp. 73-76.

33. Charkha: a Hindi term denoting the spinning-wheel derived from the Sanskrit word *chakra*—a wheel. Mr. Gandhi gave this a special political meaning by advocating hand-spinning of cloth to boycott British mill-produced cloth. The *charkha* consists of a wooden wheel bolted to a flat board at one end with a spindle at the other; the handle turns the wheel which is connected to the spindle by a looped thread.

34. Chamar: a leather worker.

35. From author's notes of Pandit Nehru's visit to Kurukshetra.

36. Ramakrishna Mission, founded by a disciple of a Bengali Brahmin, Ramakrishna Paramahansa, born 1834, is an interesting

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movement chiefly devoted to social welfare. Well-known convert was Swami Vivekananda who attended the Chicago Parliament of Religions (1893), making a number of American converts. See Ramakrishna Mission temple in San Francisco. Read: Margaret Noble's *The Web of Indian Life*.

37. Rev. H. R. Ferger, Allahabad, U.P., the audio-visual pioneer in India was in charge of the film programs in relief camps and enlisted the help of a large group of volunteers who came with films and equipment.

38. We contended with: 220 D.C., 50 cycle electric current. But seldom was there 220 volts, so we were dependent upon gas-electric generators for high quality sound projector operation.

39. The National Christian Council of India: The Council is neither a church nor a missionary body. It is a council of many groups and works in an advisory capacity.

The Council has completed 40 years of existence. First established in 1912 under the name of the National Missionary Council, it became affiliated in 1921 to the International Missionary Council as the National Christian Council of India, Burma and Ceylon. Now Ceylon has become an independent Council, and so also Burma.

The Council is representative of almost all non-Roman Churches and Missions and is so recognized by Government. The Council is made up of representatives (a) from fourteen Provincial Christian Councils, and (b) from certain Churches and Missions directly affiliated to it, and (c) co-opted members. Its total membership is about 110, and a large majority of the members are Indian. It meets once in three years, but an All-India Committee of twenty-five functions in the interim, meeting twice a year. It has five full-time and one part-time Secretary, Indian, American and Canadian. It has its headquarters at Nagpur. The monthly organ of the Council is the *National Christian Council Review*. The Council is a child of the Ecumenical Movement and is in association with the World Council of Churches.

40. Constituent Assembly: The terms relative to independence announced by Lord Mountbatten were embodied in an Act called the Indian Independence Act, introduced into Parliament July 5, passed July 15 and became law at 10:45 A.M., July 18. The Act established two independent dominions called India and Pakistan as from August 15, 1947, and transferred all power and authority in the respective area to the Constituent Assembly of India which was already in existence. The Constituent Assembly of India was to exercise the power of the Legislature of the dominion plus the work of constitution making. The Constituent Assembly met December 9, 1946, and completed the Constitution after two years, eleven months and eighteen days.

## FOOTNOTES

41. See Joint CROP wheat presentation ceremony with Father Neil McBrearty and Donald F. Ebright representing Catholic and Protestant agencies respectively, p. 120.

42. Constitution House: Built for U.S. army personnel during World War II, it became a center of activity with independence. Here members of the Constituent Assembly were housed and fed in the pleasant rooms. Many foreign guests found generous hospitality in Constitution House.

42a. Panipat: Same town where Babur defeated the Delhi Sultanate in A.D. 1524.

43. E. W. Wilder, "The Medical Contribution to the Refugee Relief Programme of the Christian Council of India, Pakistan and Burma," *The Journal of the Christian Medical Association of India; Burma and Ceylon*, Vol. XXIV, Jan., 1949, pp. 1-10.

44. See page 60 for list of other sending agencies. We acknowledge their valued gifts, but record that the bulk of supplies during the years 1947-1952 came from Church World Service.

45. The Churches represented in CWS are:

- American Baptist Convention
- American Lutheran Church
- Assemblies of God
- Augustana Evangelical Lutheran Church
- Church of the Brethren
- Congregational Christian Churches
- Cumberland Presbyterian Church
- Danish Evangelical Lutheran Church of America
- Disciples of Christ
- Evangelical and Reformed Church
- Evangelical Lutheran Church
- The Evangelical United Brethren Church
- Lutheran Free Church
- The Methodist Church
- Presbyterian Church in the U.S.
- Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.
- The Protestant Episcopal Church
- Reformed Church in America
- Religious Society of Friends  
(Five Years Meeting)
- Serbian Eastern Orthodox Church
- United Lutheran Church in America
- United Presbyterian Church of North America

Other Cooperating Groups:

- Church of God (Anderson, Indiana)
- Eastern Conference of the Evangelical Mission Covenant

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Church of America  
Evangelical Congregational Church  
Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod  
Other Lutheran Churches cooperating through the National  
Lutheran Council  
Mennonite Church of North America  
(Eastern District Conference)  
Moravian Church (Northern Province)  
National Baptist Convention, U.S.A., Inc.  
Roumanian Orthodox Episcopate of America  
Russian Orthodox Church  
Seventh-Day Adventists  
Seven Day Baptists  
United Church of Canada

46. Letter to Church World Service, New York.

47. Meals-for-Millions Foundation, Inc., 648 South Broadway, Los Angeles 14, California, U.S.A.

48. See Footnote No. 19.

49. Mohandas K. Gandhi has been dead for over four years but his life and message is being studied around the world. One should begin with: Mohandas K. Gandhi, *The Story of My Experiments with Truth* (Washington, D.C.: Public Affairs Press, 1948). Also suggested are: (1) Clifford Manshardt, *The Mahatma and the Missionary* (Chicago: Regnery, 1949); (2) Nirmal K. Bose, *Selections from Gandhi* (Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad, India, 1948); (3) Ronald Duncan, *Selected Writings of Mahatma Gandhi* (Boston: Beacon, 1951); (4) R. R. Diwakar, *Satyagraha: The Power of Truth* (Chicago: Regnery, 1948); (5) Richard B. Gregg, *The Power of Non-Violence* (Lippincott, 1935); (6) E. Stanley Jones, *Mahatma Gandhi: an Interpretation* (New York: Abingdon-Cokesbury, 1948); (7) Romain Rolland, *Mahatma Gandhi* (New York: Century, 1924); (8) Louis Fischer, *The Life of Mahatma Gandhi* (New York: Harpers, 1950); (9) *Gandhi-Jinnah Talks* (New Delhi: Hindustan Times, 1944); and (10) Shakuntala Masani, *Gandhi's Story* (Oxford: 1950).

50. St. Matthew's Gospel 5:39.

51. See Footnote No. 24.

52. See pages 27-39, 70, 84.

53. "President Prasad Enunciates Government Policies." *India News* IN/10, Government of India Information Services, 1952.

54. Meals-for-Millions. See page 79.

55. See Chapter VII, page 115.

56. Overpopulation is not, however, India's major problem. India's problem is an underproduction: on farms and in factories. See Chapter XII, "There Yet Remains," pp. 186, 201, 202.

## FOOTNOTES

57. These are being provided through Point IV funds. See Chapter X, "Community Development Projects," pp. 158-168.

58. Read: N. E. Dodd's "Hoes and 'Show-How' Come First," in the Oct. 2, 1949, *New York Times* magazine, to see a brilliant statement that millions of farmers need only simple seeds and tools to increase their yield and grow more food. Concerning FAO:

FAO grew out of the United Nations Conference on Food and Agriculture held at Hot Springs, Va., U.S.A., in May, 1943.

At this Conference forty-four nations agreed to work together to secure a lasting peace through freedom from want. They agreed that: Two thirds of the world's people are undernourished; their health could be vastly improved if they were able to get enough of the right kind of food; the farmers of the world—two thirds of its population—could produce enough if they used the best agricultural methods; full-time work for all could be provided by increased production and efficient distribution; the nations must act together to attain these ends.

FAO was formally founded at Quebec, Canada, in October, 1945—the first of the new specialized United Nations agencies created after the war.

The Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations has these chief aims: To help nations raise the standard of living; to improve nutrition of the peoples of all countries; to increase the efficiency of farming, forestry, and fisheries; to better the condition of rural people; and, through all these means, to widen the opportunity of all people for productive work.

FAO works with the United Nations through the Economic and Social Council. Increasingly effective collaboration is being established with the Economic Commission for Europe (ECE), the Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East (ECAFE), and the Economic Commission for Latin America (ECLA), all set up by the Economic and Social Council.

59. For intensive study read: Kingsley Davis, *The Population of India and Pakistan* (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1950); *The First Five-Year Plan* (New Delhi, Government of India, National Planning Commission, 1951); "A Story and a Plan," *The Eastern Economist*, Independence Number (New Delhi, Vol. XVII, No. 5, August 10, 1951); C. N. Vakil, *Economic Consequences of Divided India* (Bombay, Vora & Co., 1951); M. B. Nanavati and J. J. Anjaria, *The Indian Rural Problem* (Bombay, Indian Society of Agricultural Economics, 1947); D. S. Nag, *A Study of Economic Plans for India* (Bombay, Hind Kitabs, 1949).

60. See: Chapter IV, "Voluntary Relief Agencies," p. 59.

61. August 5, 1950, the second heaviest earthquake on record in Assam affected 30,000 sq. miles. Six hundred were killed and over



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100,000 buildings destroyed. The NCC sent milk powder by air within two weeks and shipped clothing from CWS by rail.

62. Cf. V. K. R. V. Rao, "India's First Five-Year Plan—a descriptive Analysis," *Pacific Affairs*, March, 1952.

63. THE AGREEMENT FOR TECHNICAL COOPERATION PROGRAM BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA AND THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA BEGINS: "The Government of the United States of America and the Government of India: Pursuant to the General Agreement for Technical Cooperation signed on behalf of the two Governments at New Delhi on December 28, 1950:

Recognizing that individual liberty, free institutions, and independence, on the one hand, and sound economic conditions and stable international economic relationships on the other hand, are mutually interdependent;

Desiring to cooperate in promoting and accelerating the integrating economic development of India;

Agreeing that increase in the interchange between the two countries of technical knowledge, skills and techniques in the field of economic development is mutually advantageous; and

Considering that the Government of the United States of America and the Government of India agree to join in promoting international understanding and good will and in maintaining world peace, and to undertake such action as they may mutually agree upon to eliminate causes for international tension;

Have agreed to carry out the Technical Cooperation Programme and its separate projects as follows:"—(Then follows 10 Articles).

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64. Read the December 23, 1950, *Saturday Evening Post*, for Joseph N. Kearney's "India Opens Her Hidden Storehouse," p. 35, for a stirring account of American machinery adopted to conquer India's strangling plague of *kans* grass in Bhopal State. Here ten million acres of grain-producing earth will be reconditioned—an area twice the size of New Jersey.

65. The latter, Kathgodam, was called "Kitty-be-blown" by World War II soldiers who passed through by the thousands en route to Himalayan rest camps.

66. The Indo-American Agreement was renewed for the year 1952-1953 with great advantage to refugee and famine relief operations.

67. I am indebted to my successor, Rev. Donald E. Rugh, for much of this information.

68. The Tolstoy Foundation of New York is a private agency of non-communist White Russians now in the United States. This

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Foundation provided funds for relief work among the refugees who had escaped from communist oppression. This was supplemented with CWS supplies.

69. The U.S. Consulate in Urumchi was opened in 1943 and closed in 1949. The hardships of this journey hastened the untimely death of Mr. Paxton.

70. *Sarai*: a shelter for caravans common in Asia. A "horse-sheep-yak-motel."

71. October 17, 1952.

72. *New York Times*, March 21, 1949.

73. William O. Douglas, *Beyond the High Himalayas* (Garden City: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1952), p. 40.

74. See "Chester Bowles, New-Style Diplomat" by Jean Lyon in *Harper's* magazine, October, 1952, pp. 90-95.

75. "Asian Nationalism and Western Policies" condensed from the Round Table on South Asia, Preliminary Report of the 11th Conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations, Lucknow, India, October 3-15, 1950. IPR, 1951, which the writer attended. Much material in this book has come from discussions at this Conference.

76. For India's official position on foreign capital see the address delivered by His Excellency the Ambassador of India, Mr. G. L. Mehta, at the luncheon session of the Far East-America Council of Commerce and Industry, Inc., on Friday, the twenty-fourth of October, 1952, at the Waldorf Astoria, New York City.

77. J. B. Condliffe and Harold H. Hutcheson, *Point Four and the World Economy* (New York: Foreign Policy Association, Headline Series, No. 79, 1950), pp. 1-52, is a good introduction to economic development in underdeveloped areas.

78. See: "India and the United Nations" by M. C. Setalvad. *India Quarterly*, April-June, 1950. Indian Council of World Affairs.

79. See page 55 for the Faridabad project and page 162 for the Etawah story.

80. See Chapter V, "Distinguished Leaders." Dr. K. M. Munshi is now the Governor of Uttar Pradesh.

81. "Community Development Projects," *India News* IN/12, Government of India Information Services, 1952.

82. Read: "Indian Election Results" by R. L. Park. *Far Eastern Survey*, May 7, 1952. American Institute of Pacific Relations.

83. "On the Red Trail": Director of Information and Publicity, Madras, 1950.

84. *Ibid.*, p. 41.

85. *Communist Violence in India*, Ministry of Home Affairs, Government of India, September, 1949, p. 8.

86. Karl Marx, *Das Kapital*.

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87. See Chapter XII, "There Yet Remains," p. 199.

88. See: "The Impact of Modern Technology on the Social Structures of South Asia" by Kewal Motwani. *UNESCO International Social Science Bulletin*, Winter, 1951; and "The Economics of the Indian Village and Its Implications in Social Structure" by B. K. Madan. *UNESCO International Social Science Bulletin*, Winter, 1951.

89. The sums spent on defense in the revenue budgets are:

<i>Fiscal Year</i>	<i>Defense Expenditures</i>	<i>Total Expenditures</i>	<i>Proportion of total Expenditures Spent on Defense</i>
1948-49	Rs 1,460.5 million	Rs 3,208.6 million	45.5%
1949-50	Rs 1,700.6 million	Rs 3,361.0 million	50.6%
1950-51	Rs 1,680.1 million	Rs 3,378.8 million	49.7%

Half of the revenue budget for three years had been elevated to military purposes.

90. *UNESCO Courier*, May, 1951. "Special Issue: India, Pakistan, and Ceylon."

91. Zamindari system: Land for the most part belongs to the land-owner (*zamindar*) who sublets the fields to the peasant under the *zamindari* system, or to the Government, who enter into direct revenue agreements with the cultivators under a system known as *ryotwari*. The *zamindari* system is found in Bengal, Bihar, the United Provinces and parts of Madras.

92. *India Today*, India League of America, New York, December, 1952, p. 3.

93. Caste system: The origin of caste is obscure, but the first division was probably into two—the conquering Indo-European and the conquered aboriginal, known as Dravidians. The upper group, through the rise of priestcraft and occupational difference, split into three main divisions—the priest (*brahman*), the defender (*ksatriya*), and artisan or tradesman (*vaisya*)—known together as the twice-born. The lower group, *sudras*, remained intact, and was given the questionable privilege of working for the upper castes in all types of manual labor, including agriculture. The so-called sixty million Untouchables (Mr. Gandhi's "Harijans," or children of God) are those whose work sets them off as necessarily ceremonially or physically unclean. The tanning of hides, cleaning latrines and scavenger work has rendered these folk, usually desperately poor, literally "untouchable," sometimes even "unapproachable." Removed as they have been from decent society, they have acquired other habits of life, beyond the demands of their work, that are far from prepossessing. The social and religious redemption of the Untouchable, and his own rebirth of self-respect, is now possible through constitutional guarantees.

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